THE SYNODICON
IN THE
WEST SYRIAN TRADITION

I

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THE SYNODICON IN THE WEST SYRIAN TRADITION

I

TRANSLATED

BY

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PREFACE

It is with deep satisfaction that the Synodicon in its first translation becomes accessible to the readers in the West. This volume covers only the first part of the document. Regarding the contents of the remaining half which will follow, an introduction will give an idea.

As to what a translation should be there are different opinions. In my translation I have tried to keep close to the original Syriac. Although the elegance will suffer, I feel that this is useful for those who want to study the document itself.

In order to attain more clarity — often the Syriac is difficult and strange — and to smooth somewhat the translation, additional words had to be added. These are between round brackets. Square brackets indicate the lacunae in the text or uncertain renderings due to suffered text in the manuscript. Broken brackets indicate reconstructed text.

When this volume leaves my hands I have special reasons to think of my disciple Prof. Dr. W. Freitag. I want to extend my warm word of thanks to him. He has examined the English of my manuscript and re-examined it also in proofs. This he has done with warm interest and unfailing kindness.

Chicago
October 1973

ARTHUR VÖÖBUS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ʻAbdīšōʻ, *Catalogus librorum* = ʻAbdīšōʻ, *Catalogus librorum omnium ecclesiasticorum*, ed. J. S. Assemani, in : *Bibliotheca orientalis* III, 1.

ʻAbdīšōʻ, *Catalogus librorum eccl.* = ʻAbdīšōʻ, *Catalogus librorum omnium ecclesiasticorum*, ed. A. Vööbus, in : CSCO Sub (in preparation).

ʻAbdīšōʻ, *Collectio canonum* = ʻAbdīšōʻ, *Collectio canonum*, ed. A. Mai, in : SVNC X.

Acta conciliorum oec. = *Acta conciliorum*, ed. E. Schwartz, I. Berolini 1927.

Aetheria, *Peregrinatio ad loca sancta* = Aetheria, *Peregrinatio ad loca sancta*, ed. P. Geyer, in : CSEL XXXIX. Vindobonae 1898.

Ancient Syriac Documents = *Ancient Syriac Documents Relative to the Earliest Establishment of Christianity in Edessa and the Neighbouring Countries*, ed. by W. Cureton. London 1864.

Anecdota syriaca = *Anecdota syriaca*, ed. I. P. N. Land, I-IV. Lugduni Batavorum 1862-75.

Assemani, *Bibliotheca orientalis* = Assemani, J.S., *Bibliotheca orientalis Clementino Vaticana, in qua manuscriptos codices syriacos recensuit*, I-III. Romae 1719-1728.

Assemani, *Catalogus* = Assemani, S.E., et Assemani, J.S., *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codicum manuscriptorum catalogus*, II-III. Romae 1758-59.

Assemani, *Catalogus* = Assemani, S.E., *Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae et Palatinae codicum manuscriptorum orientalium catalogus*. Florentiae 1742.

Bar Bahlūl, *Lexicon syriacum* = Bar Bahlūl, *Lexicon syriacum*, ed. R. Duval, I-III. Paris 1901.

Bar ʻEbrāyā, *Chronicon eccl.* = *Gregorii Barhebraei chronicon ecclesiasticum*, ed. J. B. Abbeloos et T. J. Lamy, I-III. Parisiis-Lovanii 1872-77.

Bar ʻEbrāyā, *Chronicon syriacum* = *Gregorii Barhebraei chronicon syriacum*, ed. P. J. Bruns et G. G. Kirsch, I-II. Lipsiae 1879.

Bar ʻEbrāyā, *Liber columbae* = Barhebraeus, *Liber columbae seu directorium monachorum*, ed. P. Bedjan, in : *Ethicon seu moralia*. Parisiis 1898.

Basilios, *Epistolae* = Basilios, *Sancti patris nostri Basilii epistolae*, in : PG XXXII. Parisiis 1886.

Baumstark, *Festbrevier und Kirchenjahr* = Baumstark, A., *Festbrevier und Kirchenjahr der syrischen Jakobiten. Eine liturgiegeschichtliche Vorarbeit*, in : StGKdA III, 3-5. Paderborn 1910.

Baumstark, *Geschichte syr. Literatur* = Baumstark, A., *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*. Bonn 1922.

Baumstark, "Syrische Literatur" = Baumstark, A., "Syrische Literatur," in : HdS III, 2. Leiden 1954.

Bibliotheca orientalis = *Bibliotheca orientalis Clementino Vaticana in qua manuscriptos codicos syriacos recensuit* J. S. Assemani, I-III, Romae 1719-28.

Braun, *Buch der Synhados* = Braun, O., *Das Buch der Synhados nach einer Handschrift des Museo Borgiano*. Stuttgart und Wien 1900.

Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western* = Brightman, F. E., *Liturgies Eastern and*

Western Being the Texts Original or Translated of the Principal Liturgies of the Church. Oxford 1896.

BROCKELMANN, *Lexicon syriacum* = BROCKELMANN, C., *Lexicon syriacum*. Halis Saxonum 1928.

Catena in Acta = *Catena in Acta sanctorum apostolorum*, ed. J. A. CRAMER. Oxonii 1838.

"The Canons of Addai" = "The Canons in the Doctrine of Addai", ed. by A. VÖÖBUS, in : *The Yearbook of the Syriac Academy*, I. Baghdad (in press).

CERSOY, "Manuscrits orientaux" = CERSOY, P., "Les manuscrits orientaux de Mg. David au Musée Borgia de Rome," in : ZfA IX (1894).

CH = *Church History*. Chicago.

CHABOT, *Littérature syriaque* = CHABOT, J.-B., *Littérature syriaque*. Paris 1934.

Chronicon ad ann. 813 = *Fragmenta chronici anonymi auctoris ad annum Domini 813 pertinentia*, ed. E. W. BROOKS, *Chronica minora* III, in : CSCO 5, Syr 5. Louvain 1904.

Chronicon ad ann. 819 = *Chronicon anonymum ad A.D. 819 pertinens*, ed. A. BARSAUM, in : CSCO 81/Syr. 36. Louvain 1920.

Codex liturgicus = *Codex liturgicus ecclesiae universae*, ed. J. A. ASSEMANI I-XIII. Romae 1749-66.

Conciliorum oec. collectio = *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, ed. J. D. MANSI. Florentiae 1759 ff.

Concilium Seleuciae et Ctesiphonti = *Concilium Seleuciae et Ctesiphonti habitum anno 410*, ed. T. J. LAMY. Lovanii 1868.

Constitutiones apost. = *Didascalia et constitutiones apostolorum*, ed. F. X. FUNK, I-II. Paderbornae 1905.

CSEL = *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum*. Vindobonae.

CSCO = *Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium*. Parisiis-Lovanii.

CSCOSub = *Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium. Subsidia*. Lovanii.

DENZINGER, *Ritus orientalum* = DENZINGER, H., *Ritus orientalium Coptorum, Syrorum et Armenorum in administrandis sacramentis*, I-II. Wirceburgi 1863-64.

Didascalia apostolorum in Syriac = *Didascalia apostolorum in Syriac*, ed. M. D. GIBSON, in : HS I. London 1903.

Didascalia apostolorum syriace = *Didascalia apostolorum syriace*, ed. P. DE LAGARDE, Lipsiae 1854.

The Doctrine of Addai = *The Doctrine of Addai, the Apostle, Now First Edited in a Complete Form by* G. PHILLIPS. London 1876.

Documenta liturgica, see *Studia syriaca* III.

DUVAL, *La littérature syriaque* = DUVAL, R., *La littérature syriaque*. Paris 1907.

'ELIYĀ BAR ŠĪNĀYĀ, *Opus chronologicum* = ELIAS NISIBENUS, *Opus chronologicum*, ed. E. W. BROOKS et J.-B. CHABOT, in : CSCO 62/Syr. 21-22. Parisiis 1910.

GRAF, *Verzeichnis arab. Termini* = GRAF, G., *Verzeichnis arabischer kirchlichen Termini*, in : CSCO Sub VIII. Louvain 1954.

HdO = *Handbuch der Orientalistik*. Leiden-Köln.

Histoire nestorienne = *Histoire nestorienne*, ed. A. Scher, J. Périer, P. Dib et R. Griveau, in : PO IV, 3; V, 2; XIII, 4. Paris 1907-19.
HS = *Horae semiticae*. Cambridge.
HVBB = *Die Handschriftenverzeichnisse der k. Bibliothek zu Berlin*. Berlin.

JA = *Journal asiatique*. Paris.
JThS = *Journal of Theological Studies*. Oxford.

MBzPuAR = *Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte*.
Mīka'ēl, *Chronique* = *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, patriarche jacobite d'Antioche* (1166-1199) I-IV. Paris 1899-1910.
Monumenta syriaca = *Monumenta syriaca*, ed. P. Zingerle. Oeniponti 1869.
Morin, *Commentarius* = Morin, J., *Commentarius de sacris ecclesiae ordinationibus secundum antiquos et recentiones, Latinos, Graecos, Syros et Babylonios*, I-III. Antverpiae 1695.

NchGWG = *Nachrichten von der k. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*. Göttingen.
NEMBN = *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres bibliothèques*. Paris.

OC = *Oriens Christianus*. Leipzig-Wiesbaden.
OCP = *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*. Romae.
L'Octateuque syriaque = *La version syriaque de l'Octateuque de Clément*, trad. F. Nau, in : *Ancienne littérature canonique syriaque*. Paris 1913.

PapETSE = *Papers of the Estonian Theological Society in Exile*. Stockholm.
PG = *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeca*, ed. J. P. Migne. Paris.
PL = *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series latina*, ed. J. P. Migne. Paris.
PO = *Patrologia orientalis*, ed. R. Graffin et F. Nau. Paris.

Reliquiae juris eccl. = *Reliquiae juris ecclesiastici antiquissimae syriace*, ed. A. P. de Lagarde. Lipsiae 1856.
Renaudot, *Liturgiarum orientalium coll.* = Renaudot, E., *Liturgiarum orientalium collectio*, I-II. Francofurti 1847.
ROC = *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*. Paris.

Sachau, *Syrische Rechtsbücher* = Sachau, E., *Syrische Rechtsbücher*, I-III. Berlin 1907-14.
Sachau, *Verzeichnis der syr. Handschriften* = Sachau, E., *Verzeichnis der syrischen Handschriften*, I-II, in : HVBB XII. Berlin 1899.
Sacrosancta concilia = *Sacrosancta concilia*, ed. P. Labbe. Parisiis 1861-72.
Scher, "Manuscrits du Musée Borgia" = Scher, A., "Notice sur les manuscrits syriaques du Musée Borgia aujourd'hui à la Bibliothèque Vaticane," in JA sér. X, tome XIII (1919).
Schulthess, *Syrische Kanones der Synoden* = *Die syrischen Kanones der Synoden von Nicaea bis Chalcedon nebst einigen zugehörigen Dokumenten*, ed. F. Schulhess, in : AbhGWG NF X, 2. Berlin 1908.

SCHWARTZ, "Die Kanonessammlungen der Reichskirche" = SCHWARTZ, E., "Die Kanonessammlungen der alten Reichskirche," in : ZSavSRg XXV (1936).

SELB, *Zur Bedeutung des syrisch-römischen Rechtsbuches* = SELB, W., *Zur Bedeutung des syrisch-römischen Rechtsbuches*, in : MBzPuAR XLIX. München 1964.

Sententiae LXXXVII episcoporum = *Sententiae LXXXVII episcoporum : Das Protokoll der Synode von Karthago am 1. September 256 textkritisch hergestellt und überlieferungsgeschichtlich untersucht von* H. VON SODEN, in : NchGWG. Göttingen 1909.

SEVERUS, *Epistulae* = *A Collection of Letters of Severus of Antioch from Numerous Syriac Manuscripts*, ed. E. W. BROOKS, in : PO XII, 2; XIV, 1. Paris 1919-20.

SEVERUS, *Select Lettres* = *The Sixth Book of the Select Letters of Severus, Patriarch of Antioch, in the Syriac Version of Athanasius of Nisibis*, ed. E. W. BROOKS, I-II, in : TaTS. London 1902-4.

SMITH, *Thesaurus syriacus* = SMITH, *R.P.*, *Thesaurus syriacus*, I-II. Oxonii 1879-1901.

Statutes of the School of Nisibis = *The Statutes of the School of Nisibis*, ed. A. VÖÖBUS, in : PapETSE XII. Stockholm 1962.

StGKdA = *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums*. Paderborn.

Studia syriaca = *Studia syriaca*, ed. I. EPHRAEM II RAHMANI, I-IV. Šarfeh 1904-09.

SVNC = *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio*, ed. A. MAI. Romae.

Synodicon orientale = *Synodicon orientale ou recueil de synodes nestoriens*, ed. J.-B. CHABOT, in : NEMBN XXXVII. Paris 1902.

Syriac and Arabic Documents = *Syriac and Arabic Documents Regarding Legislation Relative to Syrian Asceticism*, ed. A. VÖÖBUS, in : PapETSE XI. Stockholm 1960.

Syrisch-römisches Rechtsbuch = *Syrisch-römisches Rechtsbuch aus dem fünften Jahrhundert*, ed. K. G. BRUNS und E. SACHAU. Leipzig 1880.

The Testament of Our Lord Translated into English by J. COOPER *and* A. J. MACLEAN. Edinburgh 1902.

Testamentum D.N. Jesu Christi = *Testamentum Domini nostri Jesu Christi*, ed. IGNATIUS EPHRAEM II. RAHMANI. Moguntiae 1899.

Thesaurus syriacus = *Thesaurus syriacus*, ed. R. PAYNE SMITH, G. H. BERNSTEIN, G. W. LORSBACH aliique, I-II. Oxonii 1879-1901.

VigChr = *Vigiliae Christianae*. Amsterdam.

VÖÖBUS, "The Canons in the Doctrine of Addai", see "The Canons of Addai".

VÖÖBUS, *Department of Theology, Univ. of Tartu* = VÖÖBUS, A., *The Department of Theology at the University of Tartu : Its Life and Work, Martyrdom and Annihilation*, in : PapETSE XIV. Stockholm 1963.

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VÖÖBUS, "Eine wichtige Urkunde über die westsyr. Eparchien" = VÖÖBUS, A., "Entdeckung einer wichtigen Urkunde über die Ausbreitung der westsyrischen Eparchien", in : OCP XL.

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VÖÖBUS, "Entdeckung des Panegyrikus des Mika'ēl über Jōḥannān = VÖÖBUS, A., "Die Entdeckung des Panegyrikus des Patriarchen Mika'ēl über Jōḥannān von Mardē", in : OC LV (1971).

VÖÖBUS, *Handschriftliche Überlieferung der Mēmrē-Dichtung des Ja'qōb* = VÖÖBUS, A., *Handschriftliche Überlieferung der Mēmrē-Dichtung des Ja'qōb von Serūg*, I-II, in : CSCO Sub XXXIX-XL. Louvain 1973.

VÖÖBUS, *History of Asceticism* = VÖÖBUS, A., *History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient : A Contribution to the History of Culture in the Near East*, I-II, in : CSCO 184/Subs. 14, 197/Subs. 17. Louvain 1958-60.

VÖÖBUS, "Neue Angaben über die Regierungszeit des Qyriaqos" = VÖÖBUS, A., "Neue Angaben über die Regierungszeit des Patriarchen Qyriaqos", in : OC LII (1968).

VÖÖBUS, "Neues Licht über die kirchlichen Reformbestrebungen des Dionysios" = VÖÖBUS, A., "Neues Licht über die kirchlichen Reformbestrebungen des Patriarchen Dionysios von Tell Maḥrē". Festschrift H. Engberding, in : OC XLVIII (1964).

VÖÖBUS, "New Sources for the Symbol" = VÖÖBUS, A., "New Sources for the Symbol of the Early Syrian Christianity", in : VigChr XXVI (1972).

VÖÖBUS, *Notes on Syriac Manuscripts in Unknown Collections* = VÖÖBUS, A., *Notes on Syriac Manuscripts in Unknown Collections in the Syrian Orient*, I, in : PapETSE XXXI (in preparation).

VÖÖBUS, "Origin of the Monophysite Church" = VÖÖBUS, A., "The Origin of the Monophysite Church in Syria and Mesopotamia", in : CH XLII (1973).

VÖÖBUS, "Reorganisierung der westsyr. Kirche" = VÖÖBUS, A., "Reorganisierung der westsyrischen Kirche in Persien. Neues Licht aus einer sehr wertvollen Urkunde", in : OC LI (1967).

VÖÖBUS, "Restaurationswerk des Jōḥannān" = VÖÖBUS, A., "Neues Licht über das Restaurationswerk des Jōḥannān von Mardē", in : OC XLVII (1963).

VÖÖBUS, *Syriac Manuscripts from the Treasury of Deir Za'farān* = VÖÖBUS, A., *Syriac Manuscripts from the Treasury of the Monastery of Mār Ḥanānyā or Deir Za'farān*, in : PapETSE XXX (in press).

VÖÖBUS, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen* = VÖÖBUS, A., *Syrische Kanonessammlungen : Ein Beitrag zur Quellenkunde.* I. *Westsyrische Originalurkunden*, 1, A—1, B, in : CSCO 307/Subs. 35, 317/Subs. 38. Louvain 1970.

VÖÖBUS, *Very Important Mss Sources for the Syro-Roman Lawbook* = VÖÖBUS, A., *Discovery of Very Important Manuscript Sources for the Syro-Roman Lawbook : The Opening of a New Epoch of Research in this Unique Monument of Jurisprudence*, in : PapETSE XXI. Stockholm 1971.

VOSTÉ, *Catalogue* = VOSTÉ, J., *Catalogue de la bibliothèque syro-chaldéenne du couvent de Notre-Dame des Semences près d'Alqoš (Iraq)*. Rome-Paris 1929.

WRIGHT, *Catalogue* = WRIGHT, W., *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum Acquired Since the Year 1838*, I-III. London 1870-72.

WRIGHT-COOK, *Catalogue* = WRIGHT, W. and COOK, S. A., *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in Cambridge*, I-II. Cambridge 1901.

ZfA = *Zeitschrift für Assyrologie.* Weimar.

ZKg = *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte.* Stuttgart.

ZOTENBERG, *Catalogue* = ZOTENBERG, H., *Catalogue des manuscrits syriaques et sabéens (mandaïtes) de la Bibliothèque Nationale.* Paris 1874.

ZSavSRg = *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Kanonistische Abteilung.* Weimar.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE SYNODICON

The importance of the Synodicon in the West Syrian tradition truly can be realized only when it is viewed from the perspective of the genre of the legislative sources so important for historical research.

First of all, it is not often that we are allowed to have official documents among our sources. However, here we have to do with texts which are the official documents issued by official persons: bishops, abbots, metropolitans, patriarchs and the authorities of the synods. This fact alone stamps these records as first-rate sources. They constitute material to be treated with confidence.

As official documents they are also datable and identifiable, with the exception of a few cases. Thus, a historian has, in these texts, important landmarks to guide him on his way through the wilderness of the traditions preserved in the by-ways of literature, in anonymous narratives; stories, and accounts that reach us through the stream of hagiographical traditions and most of which were developed in ways that we are not able to follow.

Something more can be added. As official documents, identifiable and datable, these records are of very great value for historical research due to the fact that these texts bear that touch of immediacy which is so important for the historian striving after objectivity. The occasions which have generated them have left their particular imprint upon them thus enhancing their value. Due to this, strings have been placed on freedom and subjectivity which always tend to move towards a fancy picture, an idealized portrait, so often reflected in sources, enriched by the embroidery of embellishments, and distorted by legends and rhetoric. Therefore, in these records, we are allowed to see the situation through the eyes of responsible persons who had to deal with realities and facts of life. From all that has been said, it follows that these documents constitute an asset of great value.

Sources of such importance deserved a large-scale project to search for these records, to unearth them and discover them — a project undertaken four decades ago [1]. With satisfaction it can be added that these

[1] Cf. Vööbus, *Department of Theology, Univ. of Tartu*, p. 62 f.

efforts have been crowned by success [2] for the enrichment [3] of our knowledge [4], as shown in previous publications.

It always is a matter of excitement and joy to increase source material of exceptional value. This is particularly the case with the literary monument presented in this edition. Moreover, here something emerges which is completely unheard of and unique. Indeed, it is unbelievable that one single collection of legislative sources can contain so many documents which are unique and therefore priceless. It is a cause for great rejoicing that such a document has been preserved for scholarship.

In view of the uniqueness of this monument [5] it is imperative to bring out its profile. This can be done instructively only when we keep the history of this genre of literature in view. We can realize the extent of its contribution to our knowledge when we observe the perspective seen in the history and development of the collections of the legislative sources.

1. Legislative sources claiming apostolic origin

A discussion of the arrangement of legislative sources must begin with the texts which were regarded as the oldest in the history of ecclesiastical legislation, enjoying the reputation of apostolic origin. These sources have become a constitutive part in the collections of the legislative materials. A pattern has thus been set for this kind of literature.

A document called the "Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ" [6] appears as an overture. Thus, the very first source we meet in the Synodicon is the Syriac version of the Clementine Octateuch [7] which in its first two books comprises this document. For Syrian Christianity this work was made available via the translation by Ja'qōb of 'Ūrhāi. We are grateful that we have information about the exact time that this translation was made. The manuscripts have preserved a subscription according to which the translation took place in the year

[2] *Syriac and Arabic Documents.*
[3] *Statutes of the School of Nisibis.*
[4] Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen* I, A - I, B.
[5] Cf. also Vööbus, "Emergence of the Synodicon", p. 234 ff.
[6] Edited by Rahmani in *Testamentum D. N. Jesu Christi.*
[7] Cf. Nau, *La version syriaque de l'Octateuque*, p. 18 ff.

998A.Gr., i.e. 686/7 A.D. Soon extracts and parts of this writing showed themselves in the collections of the legislative sources. The Synodicon did not include the entire source but certain abridgements [8].

The Canons of the Apostles is a document which appears already in the oldest version of the collection of the conciliar canons where it is placed at the head of the collection [9]. Since then it has become a constant part in these collections. Its role is the more enhanced since this set of canons was incorporated [10] in the Clementine Octateuch [11]. Here the Synodicon follows the pattern [12]. However, the version incorporated here is different from that known through Ms. Par. Syr. 62.

The document which bears the title, "The Order of the Apostles given through Hippolytus", is another one which has had a very long history in the collections of legislative sources. It appears already in the earliest version of the collection of the conciliar acts [13]. Under the name of Diataxis [14] it has secured its presence in the collections. The Synodicon has followed suit by including this document [15].

The presence of the *malphanūtā* of Addai is attested by such ancient witnesses as Ms. Mardin Orth. 309 [16], and enjoying respect in later collections, including the Synodicon [17]. Textually it makes its contribution to the elucidation of the transmission of it [18].

Also the Syriac Didascalia [19] must be mentioned. This is the document with which the collections open in Ms. Vat. Syr. 560 [20] and in Ms.

[8] Fol. 1a-20a.

[9] Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 14, 526, fol. 4b-9a.

[10] Namely as book VIII.

[11] Edited by De Lagarde in *Reliquiae juris eccl. ant. syriace*, p. 11 ff.

[12] Fol. 24b-29a.

[13] Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 14, 526, fol. 9a-13b.

[14] Edited by De Lagarde in *Reliquiae juris eccl. ant syriace*, p. 24 ff.

[15] Fol. 29b-34a.

[16] Fol. 74a-79a.

[17] Fol. 80b-85a.

[18] It differs from Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 14, 644, edited by Cureton, in *Ancient Syriac Documents*, p. 24 ff. Mostly it goes with Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 14, 173, but often it goes its own way.

[19] Edited by De Lagarde in *Didascalia apostolorum syriace*. See the *Didascalia apostolorum*, edited by Vööbus.

[20] Fol. 1a-22a.

Vat. Borg. Syr. 148 [21]. The Synodicon, however, has included an excerpt which deals with the procedure in judgment [22].

2. The ecumenical synods

In the collections of the legislative sources the canons of the ecumenical councils constitute the most important block of material. This material appears already in the earliest stratum of this genre. These canons were translated very early from the Greek [23] into Syriac [24]. Their importance is demonstrated by the fact that even two translations of these collections are extant. One is preserved in a very ancient manuscript [25] whose background is revealed by its colophon. It informs us that the translation was made in the year 500/1 A.D. [26] The second version [27] is represented by a manuscript which does not belong to such a venerable age. Although the codex which has preserved this recension is younger, it seems to represent a still older form as unfolded by such a phenomenon as free renderings, so characteristic of a primitive translation. According to every indication, this recension seems to represent just such an older version which necessitated a more careful translation [28]. Thus, the canons of the ecumenical councils entered into the domain of Syriac very early, and in a double version [29].

The Synodicon follows the pattern set by earlier collections of legis-

[21] Fol. 1a-61a.

[22] Fol. 180a-181a.

[23] On the Greek collections of canons, see Schwartz, *Kanonessammlungen der Reichskirche*, p. 1 ff.

[24] A very ancient translation of the Greek canons was adopted already in 419/20 A.D. by the synod under the Catholicos Jahballāhā as a norm for the church in Persia. Cf. *Synodicon orientale*, p. 38.

[25] Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 14, 528. The codex is of the 6th cent, but it may be of the year 500/1 A.D. Cf. Wright, *Catalogue* II, p. 911 ff. Another witness appears in Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 14, 529 of the 7th or 8th cent. Cf. Wright, *Catalogue* II, p. 917 f.

[26] The colophon tells us that the translation took place in Mabbūg in the year 812 A. Gr., i. e. 500/1 A.D.

[27] Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 14, 526, of the 7th cent. Cf. Wright, *Catalogue* II, p. 1033 ff.

[28] An echo of this need appears in the colophon of the improved version in Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 14, 528 which states that : "These (canons) were carefully and clearly translated from Greek into Aramaic". Cf. Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen* I, B, p. 472.

[29] The situation endures in the canons until the Council of Constantinople whose canons are included. Beginning with the canons of the Council of Chalcedon all manuscripts represent the same recension. Cf. Schulthess, *Die syrischen Kanones*, p. 113.

lative sources. It also includes all the acts beginning with the Council of Nicaea and ends with the acts of the Council of Chalcedon. The text type adopted by the Synodicon goes hand in hand with the text type presented by the older form. However, it can textually contribute to the elucidation of the history of the transmission of the text.

Also the *τίτλοι*, which are placed at the beginning of the corpus of the ecumenical canons and which cover the canons of the ecumenical councils as well as legislative sources of apostolic reputation, are also part of the pattern [30] borrowed by the Synodicon from earlier collections.

3. A corpus of conciliar acts of the West Syrian church

This part of the Synodicon is introduced in an ominous way with the following words: "In the strength of our Lord Jesus Christ we begin to write the book which contains all the new canons by the later patriarchs — I mean of Gīwargī, of Qyriaqos, two cycles, of Dionysios, of Jōḥannān, of Ignaṭios ..." [31] What is here presented is actually a corpus of the conciliar acts of the West Syrian Church. In the deposit of so many unique and priceless sources, this segment is most startling. In fact it is breathtaking. It is unbelievable that we are so suddenly overwhelmed with so many unknown records of a genre of which up to now almost no traces had existed.

This material is introduced in two sections separated from one another by a set of marriage laws. As a result in the first set there are five conciliar acts and in the second two.

The corpus is initiated by the acts of the synod held under Patriarch Gīwargī [32]. They are introduced under the title, "The canons of the blessed Mār Gīwargī, patriarch of Antioch of Syria and of venerable bishops who were with him from all parts" [33]. We are told that this synod took place on the 22nd of the month 'Iyār, 1096 A. Gr., i.e., on May 22nd, 785 A.D. The place where the convocation convened was the village with the name Kapharnabū under the administration of Serūg. Thus twenty-two canons of whose existence we had only an

[30] Such a synopsis appears already in Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 14, 526. Cf. Wright, *Catalogue* II, p. 1033.

[31] Fol. 109b.

[32] 758-790 A.D.

[33] Fol. 109b-112a.

occasional remark in the form of a variant reading [34], finally emerge to unfold themselves before our eyes [35]. The emergence of the original record is able to rectify the scanty and confused remarks about the synod found in the annalistic sources [36].

The second document represents the acts of the synod held under Patriarch Qyriaqos [37]. It bears the title, "The canons which the holy Qyriaqos, the patriarch, set up and the synod of the venerable bishops with him [38]". The canons are furnished with a proem which informs us concerning the historical circumstances of this convocation. This synod convened in the month of Tešrī ḥrāi 1106 A.Gr., i.e., in November 794 A.D. The location of the convocation was the village of Bēt Batīn which stood under the administration of Ḥarrān. The discovery of the original source is able to rectify the scanty and erroneous notes in the annalistic literature. It also shows us what we are to think of the cycle of canons which claims to represent the synodical canons established under Qyriaqos [39]. Now we learn that it is only an epitome of the original document [40]. This epitome and not the original canons apparently was known to Mīka'ēl [41]. Also Bar 'Ebrāyā [42] was acquainted only with the epitome and not with the complete document itself. The same is true of an older chronicle [43].

The third document is introduced under the title, "The canons which were set up by the holy Qyriaqos, the patriarch, and the bishops" [44]. The prescript further informs us that these canons were adopted by the synodical convocation which took place in the year 1124 A.Gr., i.e., in the year 812/3 in the town of Ḥarrān. All this information is completely new to us. The annalistic sources have been obsessed with strifes and conflicts and can tell us much about the turbulent times during the rule of Qyriaqos, but regarding the

[34] Ms. Vat. Syr. 166.

[35] Cf. Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen* I, A, p. 5 ff.

[36] Cf. *Chronicon ad ann. 819*, p. 20.

[37] 793-817 A.D. About the rule of this patriarch, see Vööbus, "Neue Angaben über die Regierungszeit des Qyriaqos", p. 87 ff.

[38] Fol. 112a-116a.

[39] Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 14, 493, fol. 160a-162a. The codex is of the 10th cent.

[40] Cf. Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen* I, A, p. 19 f.

[41] *Chronique* IV, p. 484.

[42] *Chronicon eccl.* I, col. 333.

[43] *Chronicon ad ann. 813*, p. 250.

[44] Fol. 116a-120b.

efforts which come to the fore in the canons of the synod they remain completely silent [45].

The fourth document represents the acts of the synod held under Patriarch Dionysios [46]. They bear the title, "The canons of the holy Dionysios, the patriarch of Antioch of Syria, and of the synod which was assembled with him" [47]. According to the introduction added to the canons this synodical convocation took place in the month of Tešrī qadīm 1129 A.Gr., i.e., in October in the year 817 A.D. in Qalliniqos. This time we have to do with a document that comes to us from the period of the celebrated Dionysios Tell Maḥrē. Here for the first time an instructive insight is given [48] into the endeavors of this important prelate to improve religious and ecclesiastical conditions in the church [49]. The annalistic sources abound with reports of difficulties, quarrels and struggles leaving no room for the treatment of these important issues. The historical sources, also, reflect no knowledge of this convocation and its canons. When we remember that for the period of this eminent patriarch all the sources at our disposal remain completely mute regarding the religious and ecclesiastical life, we begin to realize the importance of the new record.

The fifth document contains the acts of the synod held under Patriarch Jōḥannān III [50] introduced under the title, "The canons which were set up by the blessed Mār Jōḥannān, patriarch of Antioch of Syria, and the holy synod assembled for the election" [51]. A proem to the canons tells us more about the historical circumstances of this convocation. It was held in the month of Tešrī ḥrāi 1158 A.Gr., i.e., in November 846 A.D. in the Monastery of Mār Šīlā in the region of Serūg. This synod is mentioned in passing by Mīka'ēl [52], but nothing more of it was previously known. The value of the document [53] is enhanced still more by the fact that almost nothing has been known of the rule of Jōḥannān which was not at all short but lasted twenty-

[45] Cf. Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen* I, A, p. 22 ff.
[46] 818-845 A.D.
[47] Fol. 120b-124b.
[48] Cf. Vööbus, "Neues Licht über die kirchlichen Reformbestrebungen", p. 286 ff.
[49] Cf. Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen* I, A, p. 35 ff.
[50] 846-873 A.D.
[51] Fol. 124b-130a.
[52] *Chronique* IV, p. 547. The same has been repeated in chronicles of later date.
[53] Cf. Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen* I, A, p. 47 ff.

seven years. In view of this situation, the emergence of such a document can hardly be welcomed more heartily.

The canons of Patriarch Jōḥannān III conclude the first set of the conciliar acts. The sixth document is placed at the head of the second set of the conciliar acts comprising the acts of the synod held under Patriarch Ignaṭios [54]. It bears the title, "The canons which were set up by the holy Ignaṭios, the patriarch of Antioch of Syria, and the venerable bishops with him" [55]. The proem tells us more. The synod was assembled for the election and consecration of a new patriarch. The date given is the 5th of the month of Ḥezīrān 1189 A.Gr., i.e., on June 5th in the year 878 A.D. This convocation took place in the Monastery of Mār Zakkai near Qalliniqos. This document [56], too, fills a very deep gap in our information. Previous sources offer us almost nothing on the period of the rule of this patriarch.

The seventh document consists of the acts of the synod held under Patriarch Dionysios [57], bearing the title, "The canons which were established by the holy synod which was assembled in Bēt Mār Šīlā of Serūg, and which consecrated the blessed Mār Dionysios as patriarch of Antioch" [58]. The canons are furnished with an introductory letter which tells us more about the occasion and the participants of this conciliar convocation. This event took place in the month of Nisan 1207 A.Gr., i.e., in April 896 A.D. When all that was known to us previously consisted only of very scanty references to this synod, of references even exhibiting a state of confusion, when nothing about this period has been kept in remembrance in the annalistic records, it is very gratifying that such a document [59] has come into our possession.

As this review shows that which is presented in this section is so new that in this respect the Synodicon has no pre-history. What the Synodicon has initiated was innovative and unique in every respect. All we could see in the sources at our disposal is only an embryonic attempt in this direction, little more than a mere reference since nothing substantial has survived that would help us. Ms. Par. Syr. 62 towards the end says that it will bring the canons of the synod under the patri-

[54] 878-883 A.D.

[55] Fol. 133a-138a.

[56] Cf. Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen* I, A, p. 59 ff.

[57] 896-909 A.D.

[58] Fol. 138a-140b.

[59] Cf. Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen* I, A, p. 64 ff.

arch Qyriaqos [60], but nothing happens in the codex. The canons are not there.

Thus all that the Synodicon presents to us is a revelation. Its is unbelievable that a corpus of the conciliar acts of the West Syrian Church is now in our possession. Very great is the wealth of information unfolded here regarding the conditions of religious, spritual and ecclesiastical life in the era of the Abbasids, for which such a genre of sources was totally absent. When we become cognizant of the fact that nothing was known of the religious conditions and ecclesiastical life under most of the patriarchs mentioned earlier, then we begin to realize the great wealth of information that suddenly is unfolded before our amazed eyes. These canons cover a large range of aspects : church administration, hierarchy, clergy, piety, spirituality, cult, liturgy, discipline of the believers, monasticism, relations of believers to members of other churches and to Mohammedans, history of culture, history of religion, etc., etc.

4. Acts of local synods

The measure of surprises in the genre of synodical acts is not yet full. There are still other similar records and they are not less startling. These concern the synodical legislative documents, but on the local level. Here, too, we stand face to face with something which is entirely new. There are two such documents.

The first is nothing less than the acts of the synod held in the Monastery of Mār Mattai [61], representing the original record of a very important event [62]. These acts are introduced under the title, "The canons of the holy and divine Monastery of the holy Mār Mattai". Finally the record of a synod whose existence has been referred to by Išō'denaḥ of Baṣrā [63], the chronicle of Seert [64] and Bar 'Ebrāyā [65] has been resuscitated from its grave. There have been only references to the canons set up here but not a single trace of the canons had been recorded, not even by Bar 'Ebrāyā. When one takes into account the historical

[60] Fol. 285b.

[61] Fol. 195b-198a.

[62] About its pre-history, see a letter written by Patriarch Qyriaqos, Mīka'ēl, *Chronique* IV, p. 412.

[63] 'Eliyā bar Šīnāyā, *Opus chronologicum*, p. 127.

[64] *Histoire nestorienne* XIII, p. 543.

[65] *Chronicon eccl.* III, col. 123.

[66] *Nomocanon*, edited by Bedjan.

impact [67] of this event for the ecclesiastical life of the West Syrians [68] one realizes what has come into our hands. This synod was held in the Monastery of Mār Mattai in the month of Tešrī ḥrāi, i.e., in November 630 A.D. These acts include first a sketch of the historically important events which led to the establishment of the metropolitan see of Tagrīt, to the founding of the Maphrianate and to the enthronement of Marūtā as its first occupant. Second, the acts also contain ordinances designed to regulate the relations between the new see and the metropolitan see of Mār Mattai.

A list of subscriptions is another precious part of this historical record which instructs us about the bishops who participated in the proceedings and were instrumental in this historically very important event [69].

To these acts of the synod in the Monastery of Mār Mattai another document [70] is appended. It bears the title, "An agreement about the appointment of Kristophoros, metropolitan of the holy and divine Monastery of Mār Mattai". Also this deals with the ecclesiastical affairs of the Monastery of Mār Mattai. The document was set up in Moṣūl under Jōḥannān, the bishop of the Monastery of Mār Mattai and its Abbot, Ḥūran, and the rest of the fathers in connection with the consecration of Kristophoros as Mār Sargīs, the metropolitan of the same monastery. This document was written on the 22nd of 'Ādar in the year 303 H., i.e., in March 22nd, 914 A.D. It was directed against the Maphrian Denḥā of Tagrīt and was necessitated by his misuse of authority in the sphere of hierarchical jurisdiction.

This is the point where the text of the original manuscript breaks down so that it has no ending. Whatever else the original form of the Synodicon may have contained, we dare not even to speculate when we think of all the sources with which it has amazed us.

The genre of synodical acts on the local level includes also a part of the acts of the Synod of Carthage which also deserves some comment. It is known that these acts were translated from Latin [71] into Greek [72] by the synod itself, and from Greek they were translated into Syriac

[67] Cf. Vööbus, "Reorganisierung der persischen Kirche", p. 138 ff.

[68] Cf. Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen* I, A, p. 74 ff.

[69] *Ibid.*

[70] Fol. 198a-202b.

[71] Cf. v. Soden, *Sententiae*, p. 1 ff.

[72] Cf. Labbe, *Sacrosancta concilia* I, col. 805 ff.

by Ja'qōb of 'Ūrhāi in the year 998 A.Gr., i.e., 686/7 A.D. [73] These canons were included very soon, since they appear in such a collection as Ms. Mardin Orth. 309 [74], a parchment codex which belongs to the eighth century [75]. It is also in Ms. Mardin Orth. 310 [76], another parchment codex which belongs to the same century [77], and in Ms. Par. Syr. 62 [78] of the ninth century [79], a text which has been made available by De Lagarde [80]. However, in collections of legislative sources which were prepared later, this part if it was not left out altogether, it was reduced so that only five canons were included [81]. This is the case also with the Synodicon — here also only five canons were retained. Here a very interesting phenomenon presents itself in the textual aspect. The text of the canons embodied into the Synodicon unfolds a different version in the translation than the text related to the translation by Ja'qōb of 'Ūrhāi [82].

5. Documents of early Monophysite legislation

This is a category of sources which constitutes the indigenous part for the beginnings of canon law in the nascent monophysite church.

Chronologically there is only one record which outdistances all others in this category, namely, the canons of Rabbūlā, bishop of 'Ūrhāi. His canons were incorporated in the collections of legislative sources very early, as shown by the fact that they appear in the most ancient exponents of them, Ms. Mardin Orth. 309 and Ms. 310. As time went on there was a feeling that the set of canons for ecclesiastical affairs, namely, those regarding the priests and *benai qeyāmā* [83] and those for the monks [84], had become antiquated. This is reflected

[73] This date has been preserved in the subscription to the text.

[74] Fol. 79a ff.

[75] Cf. Vööbus, *Syriac Manuscripts from the Treasury of Deir Za'farān.*

[76] Fol. 48a-64b.

[77] Cf. Vööbus, *Ibid.*

[78] Fol. 154b-170b.

[79] Cf. Zotenberg, *Catalogues*, p. 24 ff.

[80] *Reliquiae juris eccl. syriace*, p. 44 ff.

[81] Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 12, 155, fol. 219a-220b. Cf. Wright, *Catalogue* II, p. 949 f. See also *Monumenta syriace*, p. 1 f.

[82] Very often its renderings go their own way.

[83] *Syriac and Arabic Documents*, p. 36 ff.

[84] *Ibid.*, p. 27 ff.

in the sources which show either the tendency to make only a selection [85] or to leave them out altogether [86]. In this respect the Synodicon has resisted the most drastic solution. Although it abandons the pattern of the oldest collections of both sets, it includes only the cycle on monasticism [87], and it without reduction.

The greatest importance in this category of documents belongs to the legislation created by Jōḥannān bar Qursos, bishop of Tellā. The cycle of his canons has had a longer pre-history [88] in the development of the collections [89]. In fact, it was regarded even as a leading source. This is manifested also by the position of this document, heading the cycle of these documents, placed even before the canons of Rabbūlā. In this respect the Synodicon has followed the tradition [90].

In still another respect the Synodicon has followed the pattern shaped by older collections. The cycle of *šū'ālē-pūnāyē* by the same Jōḥannān bar Qursos, which in the evolution [91] was later associated [92] with the cycle of his canons, appears also in the Synodicon [93].

The group of documents which the canons of Jōḥannān bar Qursos were to lead, consists of various other documents of monophysite legislation. This is a group which does not appear in the earliest collec-

[85] Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 14, 526, col. 30b-31a. The manuscript is of the 7th cent. The reduction is quite drastic so that from both cycles only 8 canons have survived here. The ratio is instructive. While 6 canons have been retained from the cycle on monks, only 2 have survived from the cycle on the priests and the *qeyāmā*.

[86] Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 12, 155 does not include any of these cycles. The codex is of the 8th cent. The same is the case in Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 14, 527 of the 11th cent., and in Ms. Vat. Borg. Syr. 148, copied in the year 1576 A.D.

[87] Fol. 63a-64a.

[88] The earliest record accessible to us, in Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 14, 526, fol. 31a-32b, of the middle of the 7th cent., contains only a selection of the canons.

[89] However, the full cycle of the canons appears already in Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 12, 155, fol. 222a-223b. The codex is of the 8th cent. Also in Ms. Mardin Orth. 309 and 310, both of the 8th cent.

[90] Fol. 58a-63a.

About the importance of this Jōḥannān during the most critical period in the West Syrian church, see Vööbus, "The Origin of the Monophysite Church", p. 19 ff. See also Vööbus, *Handschriftliche Überlieferung der Mēmrē-Dichtung des Ja'qōb* I, p. 7 f.

[91] Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 12, 155 does not include this cycle. The codex is of the 8th cent.

[92] The oldest witness which has included the *šū'ālē* by Sargīs appears in Ms. Mardin Orth. 310, fol. 160a-166b.

[93] Fol. 85a-88b.

tions in its full extent. The oldest stratum [94] accessible [95] to us presents a group of five such documents: the chapters sent from the Orient, the *šū'ālē-pūnāyē* from the time of persecution, the canons of Paulē and Paulē, the canons of Qonsṭanṭinā, and the canons of an anonymous bishop [96]. This cycle was supplemented by the inclusion of the canons by Jōḥannān, the Egyptian bishop [97]. The fullest extent of this cycle appears in Ms. Par. Syr. 62 which includes the chapters from the Orient, the canons of the synod in Seleucia-Ctesiphon [98] in Persia [99], the canons of Jōḥannān, the Egyptian bishop, the canons set up in the time of persecutions, the canons sent by the fathers to Paulē and Paulē, the canons of Qonsṭanṭinā, the canons by an anonymous bishop, and the decisions sent to Martyrios, bishop of Antioch [100]. Facing such a variegated situation the Synodicon has gone its own way. It made its own assessment which led, on the one hand, to the acceptance of much of the already established pattern [101], and on the other hand, to the exclusion of the canons of the Synod of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, and of the canons of the Bishop Jōḥannān of Hephaestopolis. So much about the legislative sources which originated in the period of struggle.

6. Legislative florilegia

The formation of the collections of monophysite legislative sources besides the canons and the genre of *sū'ālē-pūnāyē* was supplemented by another part which consisted of extracts from sources which dealt with the issues of canon law in particular or ecclesiastical discipline in general. Writings of celebrated churchmen in particular

94 Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 12, 155, of the 8th cent.

95 Ms. Mardin Orth. 309, fol. 142b-148b contains only the chapters sent from the Orient. However, the evidence is not conclusive since the codex has suffered.

96 Fol. 222a-227a.

97 This appears already in Ms. Mardin Orth. 310, fol. 142a-142b.

98 This document was included in such ancient collections as in Ms. Mardin Orth. 309 and 310, to mention the earliest witnesses. The version is different from the text in Ms. Alqōš 169, quire 4, fol. 9a ff. This is marked by a rearrangement of the material and by omissions. The text which Lamy published in *Concilium Seleuciae et Ctesiphonti habitum*, col. 21 ff., is defective.

99 One of the most surprising features is an archaic form of the creed, different from that in the official acts. Cf. Vööbus, "Sources for the Symbol", p. 109 ff.

100 Fol. 229b-248b.

101 Fol. 64a-74a.

could lend themselves for such usage relative to ethics, norms for life and ordinances for ecclesiastical practice. The example of 'Aksenāyā of Mabbūg is the earliest exponent in this respect [102] among the indigenous authors.

It is an ancient practice to include this genre in the collections of legislative materials. Some of these examples appear in Ms. Mardin Orth. 309 [103]. However, very soon the corpus of the letters of Severus of Antioch became the main source for this procedure. The great advantage of this corpus, besides the celebrated authority of the patriarch, was in its rich content of canonical material. These letters have been used eagerly so that different cycles [104] of such excerpts have been in circulation. Also these texts were included very early. This is shown by Ms. Mardin Orth. 310 in which a cycle of such excerpts from the letters of Severus of Antioch has already become a part of the collection [105]. This cycle also appears in Ms. Vat. Syr. 560 [106]. The same cycle survived in later collections in which several changes had taken place in the structure and arrangement. This is the case in Ms. Par. Syr. 62 [107].

The Synodicon has included this kind of material in two different intercalations. The first intercalation [108] is a cluster which is inaugurated by a letter of Basilius to Diodorus [109], and comprises a cycle extracted from the letters of Severus. Here the traditional cycle was supplemented by an excerpt from his letter to John the Roman. This cluster embraces also a cycle of canons and a letter of Basilius to chorepiscopoi. The second intercalation [110] consists of sources more

[102] His letters and treatises have been employed in order to extract rules and regulations. Cf. VÖÖBUS, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen* I, B, p. 129 ff. An interesting example appears in Ms. Mardin Orth. 420. Cf. VÖÖBUS, *Syriac Manuscripts from the Treasury of Deir Za'farān.*

[103] Fol. 98b-101a. These are excerpts from the letters of Ignatius of Antioch to Polycarp of Smyrna, and to the congregations in Philadelphia and Magnesia.

[104] An interesting cycle has been used in Ms. Midyat Gülçe 4.

[105] Fol. 146b-153a. These are from the letters sent to Caesaria, Theola, Theodorus of Olba, John Scholasticus of Bostra, Solon, Qosma, Polyeuctus, Zenobius, Dioscurus and Eucherius.

[106] Fol. 78a-79b.

[107] Fol. 248b-254a.

[108] Fol. 78b-80a.

[109] Fol. 76b-78b.

[110] Fol. 180a-184b.

colorful with respect to their provenance, representing a greater variety of authors and supplementing translations with texts of indigenous origin. These excerpts are from the Syriac Didascalia, Socrates, Julius of Rome, Theodosius, Severus, Ja'qōb of Serūg and John Chrysostom. It is a section in which the Synodicon has gone its own way.

7. Legislation by individual bishops in post-Islamic period

In this segment of the Synodicon the place of honor belongs to the canons by Ja'qōb of 'Ūrhāi. In the area of ecclesiastical legislation during the time of the Caliphate Ja'qōb of 'Ūrhāi stands without any rival. With particular thrust Ja'qōb has emphasized the importance of norms and rules for upholding ecclesiastical discipline [111]. Eagerly has he cultivated canon law using his pen and thus putting his convictions into practice in creating canons, rules and regulations. In the legislative legacy of the West Syrians there is no one who can come close to the bishop of 'Ūrhāi. For the very same reason, he got into trouble with hierarchical authorities. He must also have taken special care of ordering the material he created [112]. Moreover, he himself may have included this into collections of legislative materials [113].

As the evidence shows, the canons of Ja'qōb of 'Ūrhāi appear already in the oldest exponents of the collections of legislative sources at our disposal. One cycle of the canons appears in Ms. Mardin Orth. 309 [114], but this is so rare that it has survived only here. Another cycle of canons was incorporated into Ms. Mardin Orth. 310 [115]. This represents the most extensive form of these canons. Another ancient witness for this cycle appears in Ms. Harv. Har. 85 [116]. Collections of legislative

111 His treatise written against the despisers of ecclesiastical canons has survived only in a portion in Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 12, 154, fol. 164b-168b, and in Add. 17, 193, fol. 58a-61a.

112 It is quite probable that he himself has collected his canons, rules and resolutions.

113 It is quite possible that the codex of canons which the disappointed bishop threw into fire as a protest against the laxity in respect for canons, contained also his own ordinances. About this episode in connection with his resignation, see Mīka'ēl, *Chronique* IV, p. 446. Cf. Bar 'Ebrāyā, *Chronicon eccl.* I, col. 289, 292.

114 Fol. 152a-157a.

115 Fol. 191a-195b.

116 Fol. 18a-25a.

sources of later centuries manifest a tendency of revision as reflected in several records which have included only an epitome [117] or a selection [118]. These canons have been even excluded altogether. For this, too, we have evidence [119]. The Synodicon has not shared this drastic attitude but has made room for the cycle of the canons [120]. However, it has made a selection and reduced the extent of the individual canons.

The role of importance of Ja'qōb's legacy in the Synodicon is actually far greater due to the inclusion of another genre. This is so important that it deserves to be discussed in a separate paragraph.

That which can be introduced in this connection besides the canons of Ja'qōb of 'Ūrhāi is not much. Only the resolutions [121] by Qyriaqos, the patriarch of Antioch [122], come into account. These are introduced under the title, "An explanation of the *šū'ālē* sent from Išō', a deacon who dwelt in the village of Tarmanaz." In this respect the Synodicon follows a path which has no precedence in the collections of the legislative sources.

8. The corpus of the šū'ālē-pūnāyē by Ja'qōb of 'Ūrhāi

Also in this segment of the Synodicon the surprises are great. Indeed, we must prepare ourselves even for astounding surprises. In the genre of *šū'ālē-pūnāyē* a stage is reached for which there is no parallel in the sources which are at our disposal.

The extent of the sources stored up here becomes clearer when a look is taken at the history of the genre in the collections of the legislative sources.

The tradition of including this heritage of Ja'qōb of 'Ūrhāi in the collections of legislative sources reaches back to his own time. This is manifested by the earliest exponents at our disposal. Ms. Mardin Orth. 309, which is of the eighth century, has preserved very little,

117 Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 14, 493, fol. 181b. The codex is of the 10th cent. Cf. Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen* I, A, p. 204.

118 Ms. Cambr. Add. 2023, fol. 275b-277b. The codex is of the 13th cent. Cf. Wright-Cook, *Catalogue*, p. 600 ff. See also Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonessammlungem* I, A, p. 204.

119 So Ms. Par. Syr. 62, of the 9th cent.

120 Fol. 108a-109a.

121 Fol. 191a-192b.

122 From 793 till 817 A.D.

only five *šū'ālē* [123]. Ms. Par. Syr. 62, which is of the ninth century, has included only one cycle, namely that of Addai [124].

Another phase comes to the fore in Ms. Mardin Orth. 310 which besides the cycle of Addai [125] includes the cycle sent to Tūmā [126]. However, very little has survived of this cycle since the end of the manuscript is lost.

Still another phase is unfolded by Ms. Harv. Har. 85, also of the eighth century. Here this genre is increased to cover three sets so that besides the cycle of Addai [127] and that of Tūmā [128] that of Jōḥannān has been added [129].

The endeavor to bring forward the heritage of the legislative materials by Ja'qōb of 'Ūrhāi as completely as possible is expressed already in the title given to a special section in the Synodicon. This is done very clearly: "We write all the resolutions in the writings of Ja'qōb of 'Ūrhāi, and all the canons composed by him, and all the (other ?) canons composed by him and all the *šū'ālē* which were (sent) to him from Jōḥannān 'Eṣṭūnārā, Abraham Ḥabīšāyā, Tūmā Ḥabīšāyā, and from the Presbyter Addai, and from many others and all his answers on all kinds of subjects regarding the holy church." [130]

In fact what the collector promises to do for the collection he has done. That which is presented here has grown into a corpus of the *šū'ālē-pūnāye* of Ja'qōb of 'Ūrhāi. It represents the fullest account of the heritage of Ja'qōb in this genre.

First comes the cycle of the *šū'ālē-pūnāyē* sent to Addai [131]. The cycle which the Synodicon has incorporated represents a combination of materials partly known to us and partly entirely new. Thus, this cycle leads us to deeper strata of the tradition emanating from a

123 Fol. 157a-160a.

124 Fol. 273a-284b. Cf. *Reliquiae juris eccl. syriace*, p. 44 ff.

125 Fol. 178a-199a. Cf. Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonessammlungem* I, B, p. 281.

126 Fol. 199a-199b. Cf. Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonessammlungem* I, B, p. 296.

127 Fol. 1a-29b. Cf. Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonessammlungem* I, B, p. 282.

128 Fol. 33b-37a. Cf. Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen* I, B, p. 296 f.

129 Fol. 37a-44b. Cf. Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen* I, B, p. 293.

130 Fol. 88b. What all this material presents is much more than this which has been known. About the texts of this genre which have been known, see Duval, *La littérature syriaque*, p. 170 f.; Baumstark, *Geschichte syr. Literatur*, p. 250; and Chabot, *Littérature syriaque*, p. 85.

131 Fol. 103b-108a.

larger reservoir of traditions [132]. These do not appear in other sources in our possession.

The cycle of the *šū'ālē* sent to Jōḥannān [133], a stylite in the village Līt'ārb, but who was not an ordinary *'esṭūnārā* [134], represents the fullest text. What was known to us through the service of Ms. Cambr. Add. 2023 [135], of the thirteenth century [136], proves now to be only a selection [137].

Besides this the Synodicon represents a still longer cycle [138] of the *šū'ālē-pūnāyē* sent to the same Jōḥannān from the pillar at the village of Līt'ārb. This cycle which unfolds additional very valuable insights into the conditions of Christians and the issues of ecclesiastical life has remained unkown to us [139].

The cycle of the *šū'ālē-pūnāyē* sent to Tūmā the recluse was also not omitted [140]. Here the Synodicon follows the tradition [141].

What follows in the Synodicon is a complete surprise. This is the cycle of the *šū'ālē-pūnāyē* sent to Abraham [142]. It is here reported that this Abraham was a recluse. This is a cycle [143] which has remained unknown.

In fine, the inclusion of the legislative heritage of Ja'qōb of 'Ūrhāi, which marks a new epoch in the history and the development of the collections of legislative sources, reaches its peak in the Synodicon. Thereby it has preserved very valuable sources which in this respect unfold a realm of life in a way as does no other source in our possession.

[132] Cf. Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen* I, B, p. 279.

[133] Fol. 98a-102a.

[134] Dionysios Tell Maḥrē reports that a chronographic work which reached up to 727 A.D., one of the sources employed by him, was written by this Jōḥannān. Cf. Mīka'ēl *Chronique* IV, p. 378. Furthermore, 'Abdīšō' reports that he has composed also other works. *Catalogus librorum* CLXXIV. p. 256. See a critical edition by Vööbus, *Catalogus librorum eccl.* CLXXIV.

[135] Fol. 285a-291a.

[136] Cf. Wright-Cook, *Catalogue* II, p. 600.

[137] Cf. Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen* I, B, p. 292.

[138] Fol. 93a-98a.

[139] Cf. Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen* I, B, p. 286 ff.

[140] Fol. 103a-103b.

[141] Cf. Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen* I, B, p. 296 ff.

[142] Fol. 102a-103a.

[143] Cf. Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen* I, B, p. 298.

9. A CYCLE OF SOME NORMATIVE TREATISES FOR LITURGICAL PRACTICE

Also in this respect the collections of the ecclesiastical legislative sources have had a pre-history which influenced several phases of the subsequent evolution. The earliest exponents do not show any need to include this kind of material among the legislative documents. This need came later. What has already been said about the importance of Ja'qōb of 'Ūrhāi and his epoch-making role in the history of canon law in West Syrian Christianity [144] need not be repeated here. He was keenly interested in the domain of canon law and himself contributed to fostering it. It is the realm of possibility that the one who made the move, in whatever way, to initiate this kind of amplification of the collections of legislative materials may have been none other than Ja'qōb himself. In any case such accretions appear in sources which stand very close to the time of Ja'qōb. In Ms. Mardin Orth. 309 the collection has included several such normative liturgical treatises [145], namely : on keeping the cup, the order of the eucharist, making signs of the cross, and the order of baptism. These appear at the end of this codex and since the manuscript has suffered, we can attain no clarity about the extent of these texts in the original codex. Not all the collections of legislative sources later continued this practice. Ms. Par. Syr. 62 which includes [146] from Ja'qōb of 'Ūrhāi the cycle of the *šū'ālē* by Addai [147] omits all these texts on liturgy and ritual completely. Over against the tendency to leave out these texts the Synodicon has included guidelines to safeguard the liturgical practice by these normative patterns. Moreover, this cycle has here even been expanded. Not only the liturgy of the eucharist [148] and that of baptism [149] have been deemed necessary for such guidelines but also other rituals. And for these, too, the authoritative voice was given to Ja'qōb of 'Ūrhāi. From his pen are other treatises [150], brief and concise, which regulate practices which belong to the domain

[144] See page 15 ff.

[145] Fol. 160b-166b.

[146] Fol. 273a-285a.

[147] *Reliquiae juris eccl. syriace*, p. 62 ff., edited by De Lagarde, and in *Dissertatio de syrorum fide*, p. 98 ff., edited by Lamy.

[148] Fol. 89a-90a.

[149] Fol. 91a-92a.

[150] Fol. 90a-91a; 92a-92b.

of the ritual [151]. These also are texts which very seldom show themselves.

10. Documents pertaining to church administration

To some extent the concern for matters in church administration makes itself felt also in the oldest collections of ecclesiastical legislative sources. This is the case with the Doctrina Addaei [152]. This source, besides the canons, includes a part which gives a sketch of the expansion of the churches, singling out the ecclesiastical administration in terms of hierarchy, namely, at the highest level of same, setting it in historical perpsective. This part of the Doctrina Addaei has been retained in later collections as well.

The same interest finds expression in the Synodicon. As was already mentioned, the Doctrina Addaei is included here together with the section under discussion [153].

In addition, the Synodicon has some surprising sources in store. As in a number of other sections, the Synodicon here by going its own way has salvaged something very precious for us.

The first surprise appears in a treatise ascribed to no one less than the Patriarch Mīka'ēl himself [154]. This is a tract of whose existence nothing was known. It is devoted to the subject of cybernetics and the problems of church administration. It is a document which substantiates the subject by evidence drawn from historical sources.

A second new document is no less interesting. This bears the title, "A register of the seats of the bishops and of the metropolitans" [155],

151 These concern the regulations for the following rituals : the making of the cross sign, the signing of the cup, the keeping of the cup overnight, and the blessing of the water.

152 Cureton was the first who made this known in his *Ancient Syriac Documents*, p. 5 ff. See also Lagarde, *Reliquiae juris eccl. syriace*, p. 32, based on Ms. Paris Syr. 62. Later the complete text was edited by Phillips in *The Doctrine of Addai*. About the critical edition of the canons, see Vööbus, "The Canons in the Doctrine of Addai". All the available manuscripts have been used for this edition. Among them Ms. Mardin Orth. 309, a vellum codex of the 8th cent., is particularly precious. About this manuscript, see Vööbus, *Syriac Manuscripts from the Treasury of Deir Za'farān*.

153 Fol. 84a-85a.

154 Fol. 185a-190b.

Cf. Vööbus, "Discovery of a Treatise Ascribed to Michael the Great".

155 Fol. 192b-194a.

Cf. Vööbus, "Eine wichtige Urkunde über die Ausbreitung der westsyr. Eparchien".

an historically very precious account on the extent of the West Syrian eparchies under the patriarchate of Antioch, comprising altogether twelve metropolitan sees with 128 episcopal eparchies so that together with autocephalous sees the number of eparchies rises to 154!

Again, all that the Synodicon has added to this section, enlarging it through unknown sources, enriches our knowledge substantially.

11. Civil laws of pre-Islamic times

As we have already seen, in comparison with other collections of ecclesiastical legislative sources, the Synodicon often goes its own way. In greater part these segments which constitute the structure of it its deviations are substantial. This is also the case vis-à-vis the inclusion of civil laws. This, indeed, is a drastic innovation, since there is no known collection which could have served as a predecessor even in a limited way.

A surprise which the Synodicon offers in this segment is extreme. In fact, it keeps us in suspense. What it presents here are sources which, indeed, are very precious. They represent nothing less than a Syro-Roman Lawbook, itself a document of great rarity which as a unique monument has created an interest and excitement [156] commensurate with its extraordinary value and significance for the history of jurisprudence in the Orient. Some special comments are in order.

Any assessment of currents and undercurrents that emerged in this unique document has been hampered by the great scarcity of sources. The history of literary culture knows of sources of exceptional importance which have been released from oblivion only very reluctantly and slowly. This is the case with the Syro-Roman

[156] There is no indication whatsoever in all the sources available to us that this had been done in the West Syrian tradition previously. In the East Syrian tradition, however, the Synodicon is very interesting in this respect. Ms. Alqoš 169 comprises the acts of the synods held in the West and the East, and is also a unique monument in this respect; cf. Chabot, *Synodicon orientale*, p. 4 ff. The collection of these acts has been supplemented with legislative materials and canons of all kinds which include also the Syro-Roman Lawbook in three recensions; cf. Vosté, *Catalogue de la bibliothèque syro-chaldéenne*, p. 65. Scher ascribed the manuscript to the time before the 14th cent, "Notices sur les manuscrits syriaques", p. 55 ff. About the relation of Ms. Vat. Borg. Syr. 81, edited by Sachau, to Ms. Alqōš 169, see Vööbus, *Very Important Mss Sources for the Syro-Roman Lawbook*, p. 15 f.

Lawbook, first made known as the "Leges saeculares" in 1862 by Land [157].

To the great disadvantage of progressive research during the intervening period which covers more than a century, only some sources have emerged. One needs only to think of the fact that since the edition by Bruns and Sachau in 1880 [158], that was not until 1907 that a new manuscript [159] was made available, edited by Sachau [160] — a manuscript of Nestorian provenance and of late date, a document which made research even more complicated — and that since then there has been such a dearth of new sources that virtually nothing [161] has come forth which might widen our knowledge of this unique legal record, then under these circumstances it is a singular event, indeed, an unbelievable occurrence, that the Synodicon comes to our aid, revealing new sources which had otherwise been hidden. We are overwhelmed to find even two recensions of the Lawbook. This first bears the title, "The laws of the Christian and victorious kings" [162], in one hundred paragraphs. The second is titled, "The laws of the victorious and Christian kings, Constantinus, Theodosius, and Leon, the Roman kings" [163], which contains one hundred and fifty-seven paragraphs. An examination of these texts reveals sources which are able to throw light on old puzzles and enigmas regarding the textual pattern of the Syro-Roman Lawbook. Among others an important one now finds its final solution. It is well-known that the form of the Syro-Roman Lawbook which Bar 'Ebrāyā [164] quoted in his codification of the civil law has its own peculiarities. The enigmatic fact that these legal norms differ from all known recensions of the Syro-Roman Lawbook has prompted all kinds of speculations. This discovery ends guess work about this conundrum [165]. The deviations in the content and structure of the Lawbook emerge in this new source. Besides this, these new sources open up other

157 *Anecdota syriaca* I, p. 128 ff. Cf. SELB, *Zur Bedeutung des syrisch-römischen Rechtsbuches*, p. 1 ff.

158 *Syrisch-römisches Rechtsbuch*, p. 3 ff.

159 Ms. Vat. Borg. Syr. 81. Cf. CERSOY, "Les manuscrits orientaux", p. 361 ff.

160 *Syrische Rechtsbücher* I, p. 4 ff.

161 Cf. VÖÖBUS, *Very Important Mss. Sources for the Syro-Roman Lawbook*, p. 15 f.

162 Fol. 150b-154a.

163 Fol 154a-180a.

164 *Nomocanon* VIII, 5; IX, 1; XXXII, 1; a.o.

165 Cf. VÖÖBUS, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen* I, B, p. 538 ff.

new vistas. They contribute to the illumination of the history of the transmission of the text of the Lawbook in a very significant way [166].

Considering the monumental significance of the Syro-Roman Lawbook among the records of jurisprudence, it is most gratifying that through the Synodicon very important new sources have come into our possession. Indeed these sources, which have been increased by other very important discoveries [167], due to their nature, have opened up a new epoch for research.

12. Civil laws of Islamic period

The Synodicon by its inclusion of civil laws of pre-Islamic times entered upon a road which it has carried on with consistency. Such an attitude led also to the inclusion of the civil laws of the Islamic period. Also in this respect the Synodicon has important surprises in store.

The intention to handle the laws of the Byzantine era in the same way as those in the Islamic era comes to the fore already in the opening of the particular section which speaks of the plan of the compiler. Here he writes : "We begin to write ... all the judgments, sentences, heritages, liberation of the slaves, and of all the properties and the rest of the Arab rulers under whose sentences the believers act and whose laws they accept" [168].

What has been incorporated in the Synodicon comprises several sets of such laws. It is understandable that it was particularly necessary to deal with one area. This concerns the questions regarding inheritance. This is what appears in several sets of the laws. One bears the title, "The computation of the inheritance according to the laws of the Arabs" [169]. Another document is entitled, "Other questions on the inheritance of the Arabs" [170]. Still another is introduced under the title, "Another chapter about this who does not inherit with one who inherits" [171]. In addition to these laws one set of laws

[166] See the portions of this source set side by side with parallel texts taken from other newly discovered manuscripts, *ibid.*, I, B, p. 540 ff.

[167] Cf. Vööbus, *Very Important Mss. Sources for the Syro-Roman Lawbook*, p. 25 ff.

[168] Fol. 109b.

[169] Fol. 141a-147a.

[170] Fol. 148b-149a.

[171] Fol. 149a-149b.

regulates the legal questions concerning the freeing of slaves, bearing the title, "Regarding the emancipation of the slaves" [172].

The issue of marriage is represented by a document which was compiled by a Christian, but which seems to belong to the post-Islamic era. It bears the title, "Different kinds of illegitimate marriages and the decision of the divine law about them" [173]. It is stated in the prescript that this document was compiled by a certain Jōḥannān. Nothing more is here told about this author, but the way his work is introduced indicates that he must have been well known as a man of authority. It is quite possible that he is the same Jōḥannān of whom vestiges have survived, namely, in his legal work [174], this time in the domain of inheritance [175]. Here, too, he is quoted in a way which presumes knowledge of him as a well-known authority in law.

Thus, also in this respect the Synodicon demonstrates an amplitude for which there is not a single example in the collections of the documents of ecclesiastical legislation. We are thus allowed to see records completely new. For our knowledge of the legislation under Islamic rule all this is a very valuable gain.

13. Sources in the restored part of the manuscript

The content of the restored part of the manuscript [176] is amazing. What is presented here of legislative sources are documents of which we knew absolutely nothing. They all have been drawn from sources which had remained completely unknown.

All the documents which have been incorporated here have to do with Jōḥannān, bishop of the diocese of Mardē [177]. The name of this Jōḥannān and his life's work are linked up with the most important work of restoration [178] initiated in Syrian Christianity at that time. The work carried out in the diocese of Mardē is of such magnitude that it has

[172] Fol. 147a-149b.

[173] Fol. 130b-132b.

[174] Ms. Mardin Orth. 325, fol. 9b.

[175] Cf. Vööbus, *Very Important Mss. Sources for the Syro-Roman Lawbook.*

[176] See the introduction in the edition of the Syriac text, p. xii f.

[177] He was consecrated in 1124/5 A.D., and died in 1165 A.D. About the discovery of a new source about the life and work of Jōḥannān, namely a panegyric, composed by Mīka'ēl Rābā, see Vööbus, "Die Entdeckung des Panegyrikus des Patriarchen Michael über Jōḥannān", p. 204 ff.

[178] Cf. Vööbus, "Neues Licht über das Restaurationswerk", p. 129 ff.

no parallel elsewhere in the history of Christianity in the lands of the Euphrates and Tigris. As such it has also had a deep impact upon Christianity outside his own eparchy.

A cycle of biographical sketches and reports on Jōḥannān's activities and accomplishments through his restoration work serves as an introduction [179]. Obviously these have been culled from the colophons of different manuscripts.

The real surprise comes with the first legislative document by Jōḥannān of Mardē, introduced under the title, "The rules which he ordered and set up for the Monastery of Mār Ḥanānyā". This cycle of extensive canons [180] was arranged for the community of monks in the monastery known and celebrated as Deir Za'farān. It is a document which gives an insight into the care and diligence of this devout bishop in his endeavors [181] to resuscitate and enliven the traditions of ancient Syrian monasticism [182]. A proem and epilogue with which the canons have been furnished place them in a historical setting. This document is a unicum.

The monastic canons are followed by a short section under [183] the title, "From the patristic canons of the synods". These canons have been drawn from different sources, also sources which have remained unknown to us. Brief as this section is, it offers much new material. First, there is a cycle of canons set up by Jōḥannān of Madrē and drawn from older monastic canons. Further, there are data about the canons which were set up by Mīka'ēl, patriarch of Antioch and Jōḥannān, the maphrian of the Orient, who later was elevated to the patriarchal throne.

The section which follows prepares us for a very great surprise. This document is introduced under the title, "The canons, those which Jōḥannān ordered" [184]. The prescript informs us that this long list of extensive canons was established by the synod which was convened under Bishop Jōḥannān in the Monastery of Mār Ḥanānyā or Deir

[179] Fol. 202b-206b.

[180] Fol. 206b-215a. About this document, see Vööbus, "Eine wichtige Urkunde über das Ḥanānjā-Kloster", p. 246 ff.

[181] Cf. Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen* I, B, p. 375 ff.

[182] Cf. Vööbus, *History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient* I-II.

[183] Fol. 215a-216b.

[184] Fol. 216b-225b.

Za'farān. In fact it is a priceless document [185] since as a firsthand source, it throws light on such an event as the restoration work carried out by Jōḥannān. All that was known to us through Bar 'Ebrāyā was that Jōḥannān held a synod in the year 1464 A.Gr., i.e., 1152/3 A.D. [186] But absolutely nothing was known of the decisions on the many subjects which were adopted here.

Still more good news. Attempts to trace the source of this important document have been successful. It had found its hiding place in Ms. Mardin Orth. 176 [187], a codex of the fifteenth century [188].

[185] Cf. VÖÖBUS, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen* I, A, p. 104 ff.

[186] *Chronicon eccl.* III, col. 339.

[187] Fol. 143a-151b.

[188] Cf. VÖÖBUS, *Syriac Manuscripts from the Treasury of Deir Za'farān.*

[I] * p. 1

<THE TESTAMENT, OR WORDS WHICH OUR LORD, WHEN HE ROSE FROM THE DEAD, SPOKE TO THE HOLY APOSTLES, AND WHICH WERE WRITTEN IN EIGHT BOOKS BY CLEMENT OF ROME, THE DISCIPLE OF PETER>

After we had received the Holy Spirit He said unto us: "Verily I say unto you that you who have been made disciples unto the kingdom of heaven and who have believed in me with an undoubting heart, and have cleaved unto me, shall be with me; and all those who through you know me and do the will of my Father, who keep my words and know my sufferings [1], shall be sanctified and shall dwell in the habitations [2] of my Father, and shall be delivered from the evil days that are about to arrive. And I will be with them and I will reveal to them my ways, those in which they shall live".

And Peter and John answered and said unto Him: "O our Lord, tell us the signs of the end [3], and all the deeds, those which shall then be (done) by them who live in this world, so that we also may make them known to them who believe in Thy name in all the nations so that those generations may observe them and live". But Jesus answered and said: "Did I not, before I suffered for those that dwell on the earth, tell you some things about the end?" We gave the answer and said: "O our Lord, now we wish to know about those deeds and signs of the end of this world, if the Lord has judged that it is fitting for us to know this for us and for those who shall hear".

But Jesus answered and said: "In the time when I was in the world, I spoke unto you before I should be glorified, of signs that the consummation is near, thus: that there shall be on earth famines and pestilences, * tumults and disorders, risings of nations against nations [4], * p. 2 and those other things concerning which I have told you. But I commanded you to watch and pray. But now, you children of the light, hear: for my Father who has sent me to His inheritance has predes-

[1] Cf. Phil. III, 10 — [2] Cf. John XIV, 2 — [3] Cf. Mark XIII, 3-4 — [4] Cf. Matth. XXIV, 7.

tined in His foreknowledge that in the last days out of the latest generations, there should be vessels [5] (of grace), holy and honored and elect. <Wherefore> I made known <unto you> exactly <the things> which are about to be, and when he shall arise, the Son of <Perdition>[6], the enemy, the adversary [7], and what he is like".

"There shall, then, be signs when the Kingdom is approaching, such as these. After the famines and pestilence and tumults among the nations, then there shall rule and rise to power rulers who love money, who hate the truth, who kill their brothers, liars, haters of the believers, proud, lovers of gold, allied by species but not allied in thought, for they, each one of them, wish to destroy the life of his companion. But there shall be in their hosts much commotion and flight and bloodshed".

"But there shall arise also from the West a king of foreign race, a ruler of great craft, limitless, a homicide, a deceiver, a lover of gold, of great and evil devices, a hater of the believers, a persecutor. But he shall also rule over barbaric nations, and shall shed much blood. Then silver shall be despised and gold shall be honored. But in every town and in every country there shall be looting and rapine by robbers, and there shall be outpouring of blood".

"Then there shall be signs in heaven. A bow shall be seen, and a horn and lights, and buzzing sounds out of season and sounds and
* p. 3 ragings * of the sea [8]. On the earth there shall be signs : the birth of dragons from men, and likewise also wild beasts; and girls who have become wives for men shall bring forth babes who speak perfectly and announce the last times and implore to be killed. But their appearance shall be as of those advanced in years; for they shall be gray-headed when they are born. Also, women shall bear babes with four feet; some shall bear spirits only and others shall bear their progeny with unclean spirits. But others will do divination in the womb and speak with demons. And there shall be many other horrible signs."

"But in the communities and nations and churches there shall be many tumults, for there shall arise even shepherds [9], unjust, despisers, avaricious, lovers of pleasures, lovers of profits, lovers of money [10], talkative, self-glorious, haughty, gluttonous, perverse, given to delights,

[5] Cf. I Tim. II, 20-21; Acts IX, 15 — [6] II Thess. II, 3; John XVII, 12 — [7] II Thess. II, 3-4 — [8] Luke XXI, 25 — [9] Cf. Zech. XI, 15-17 — [10] Cf. II Tim. III, 2.

who go against the ways of the Gospel, fleeing the narrow gate [11], removing from themselves every humiliation [12], not pitying my wound, despising all the words of truth, having contempt for every way of piety, not mourning their sins. Therefore, there shall spread among the nations unbelief, hatred of the brethren, evil, audacity, slothfulness, jealousy, enmity, strife, theft, oppression, drunkenness, debauchery, wantonness, lasciviousness, fornication, and all such deeds as are against the commandments of life. For from * many, mourning and humility * p. 4 shall flee away and (so also) peace and compassion and gentleness and poverty and mercy and weeping because the shepherds, though they heard these things, did not do them, and also did not exhibit my commandments, since they themselves were examples of wickedness in the nation. But the time will come when certain of them shall deny me, and will create confusions in the earth and will trust in notorious and corruptible kings. But they who endure [13] in my name until the consummation shall be saved. Then shall they set up commandments for men, those which are like the Book and the commandment in which the Father is well pleased; and my elect and my holy ones shall be rejected by them and named among them — the pulluted. Yet these are the upright ones, pure, contrite, quiet, merciful, kind, who always know Him who is among them at all times and they shall be called fools for my sake, who have redeemed them. It shall be in those days that my Father shall gather together [14] out of the tribe and out of the generation the pure ones, the pure and believing souls, those to whom I will appear and with whom I will make my dwelling, and I will send to them the understanding of knowledge and of truth and the understanding of all holiness and they shall not cease, but shall praise and shall give thanks to their God, my Father, who has sent me. They shall at all times speak the truth, and they shall teach those whose spirit they have tested that they are upright and fit for the kingdom and they shall make known to them knowledge and strength and prudence. And those who are persecuted because they live in piety shall receive the reward of their praise. And it shall be in those times that all the kingdoms shall be shaken and all this world be reckoned as nothing, and all its possessions shall be corrupted by many, and there shall be great scarety of crops, and the winters * shall be very severe. * p. 5

[11] Matth. VII, 13 — [12] Lit. breaking, crushing, wounding — [13] Mark XIII, 13; Matth. X, 22; XXIV, 13 — [14] Mark XIII, 27.

And the rulers shall be few and limited who have rule over gold and over silver and are rich in all those things which are of this world. And the children of this world shall keep their store rooms and store houses and shall rule over the markets of buying and selling [15]. Many shall be afflicted, and therefore shall call upon their God that they may be salvaged. Blessed are they who are not (alive) at that time, and those who are shall endure. For when these things shall be, then she that travails is near to bringing forth, for her time is fulfilled."

"Then shall come the Son of Perdition, the adversary, who boasts and exalts himself [16], working many signs and powers [17], that he may deceive the whole earth [18] and overcome the times [19], my holy ones. Blessed are those who endure in those days. But woe to those who are deceived."

"But Syria shall be plundered and shall weep for her sons. Cilicia shall lift up her neck until he who judges her shall rise. The daughter of Babylon shall arise from the throne of her glory [20], to drink of the wine which is mixed for her. Cappadocia, Lycia, Lycaonia, shall bow down the back, for many multitudes shall become rotten by the corruption of their wickedness. Then the camps of the barbarians will be open, as many chariots go forth to cover the earth. Out of all Armenia and in Pontus and Bithynia companies shall fall by the sword and the sons and the daughters shall be captives. Those of Lycaonia shall be mingled in (their own) blood. Pisidia which boasts and trusts in riches shall be overthrown to the ground. The sword shall enter Phoenicia, because (the people there) are children of corruption. Judea shall clothe herself with lamentation, and shall be prepared for the day
* p. 6 of destruction, because of her uncleanness. Then shall she * gather together the abomination of desolation [21]. The East shall be opened by him; also the ways shall be opened by him. Sword and flame are in his hand. He burns with anger and wrath of fire. This is the weapon of judgment upon the corruption of them that are born in the earth, the extermination of the believers, the way of bloodshed; for his way is in error and his power is for blasphemy and his hand for deception — his right hand in wretchedness, and his left hand in darkness."

"And these are the signs of him: his head is like a flame of fire;

[15] Cf. Rev. XIII, 17 — [16] II Thess. II, 4 — [17] II Thess. II, 9 — [18] Cf. Matth. XXIV, 24; Rev. XII. 9 — [19] The text is corrupt here; the word should here be: innocent — [20] Isa. XLVII, 1 — [21] Matth. XXIV, 15.

his right eye is mingled with blood, but the left is steel gray. He has two pupils. His eyelids are white and his lower lip is large; but his right thigh, lean; his feet, broad; his great toe is bruised and flat. This is the sickle of desolation."

"Therefore I say unto you, children of the light, that also the time is at hand, and the harvest ripe [22] that sinners should be harvested in judgment. And on many, the Judge shall arise as one who is kind and shall impute to them their own works. But when he approaches, coming, a sign shall be given to the elect, who keep the law of my Father."

"Then those who fear my words, and do them in truth and with a faithful mind shall watch and pray [23] without ceasing [24], reckoning ceaseless supplication as a work, also with nothing wandering or roaming around in this world, also in nothing anxious but with a contrite soul and a mind that is not divided, daily taking upon themselves the cross [25], to do the will of my Father who is in heaven, with a humble heart. For He, who is anxious about them and cares for them who trust in the truth [26], is the Lord; and He sends to them those things which are right and fitting — those things which He knows."

"I have told you then these things that wherever * you go you may * p. 7 test the holy souls and tell them those things which are fitting and those which are right, and those things which are about to be and all those things which, before I was glorified, I commanded you, so that believing them they may truly live. For from now on, the beginning of corruption is at work, the mystery of destruction."

"Turning then to the churches, rectifying, ordering well, regulating and doing all in uprightness and holiness, speak to every man as is helpful to him, so that your Father who is in heaven shall be glorified [27]. Be you wise to the end that you shall persuade those who are captivated by error and those who are sunk in ignorance, that they, learning to know God and living piously and purely, shall praise my Father and your God." [28]

But after Jesus had spoken these words, Peter, John, Thomas, Matthew, Andrew and Matthias and the rest said: "O our Lord, truly Thou hast spoken to us now also words of warning and of truth which we do not deserve. Thou hast bestowed upon us many things

[22] Cf. Rev. XIV, 15 — [23] Matth. XXVI, 41 — [24] I Thess. V, 17 — [25] Cf. Luke IX, 23 — [26] I Peter V, 7 — [27] Matth. V, 16 — [28] Cf. John XX, 17.

and hast given also to the generations, those which are to come, who are worthy to know Thy words and who shall escape from the snare of the evil one. But, O our Lord, we beseech Thee to make Thy perfect light shine upon us and upon those who are predestined and set apart to become Thine. Because many times we have inquired of Thee, we also pray Thee to teach us in what way it is right to be for him who stands at the head of the church or leads the church, and by which rule one shall establish and order it. For it is urgent that, when we are sent to the nations to proclaim the salvation which is from Thee, it should not escape us as to what is right in administering the mysteries of the church. Therefore, from Thine own mouth, O our Savior and perfector, we wish to learn without omission what is right for
* p. 8 the chief of the holy things * to be pleasing before Thee and for all those who serve within Thy church."

Then Martha, Mary and Salome, those who were with us [29], answered and said : "Yea, O our Lord, teach us how we shall know what is right to do so that our souls may live unto Thee." Then Jesus answered and said unto them : "I desire, as you persevere in supplication [30], that you should always serve my Gospel and become examples in holiness for the redemption of those who trust in me, and that in all things you will be figures of the kingdom of heaven."

But to us also Jesus said : "Because you also have inquired of me concerning the ecclesiastical canons, I deliver and make known, how it is proper for you to order and command one who stands at the head of the church, and to preserve the perfect and just and, in every way, excellent rule in which my Father who has sent me is well pleased. Verily I say unto you, that he who knows the power of this commandment and of this testament and does according to those things which are written therein, shall be like unto the angels praising my Father and shall become holy unto God."

"But my Father is mediator and all His host — (even) if their sins shall be as the sand of the sea shore which cannot be numbered [31], and any of them, who understanding these words, shall do them, these sins shall be forgiven him and he shall be in me and be glorified."

"But since in the midst of the multitudes of the people there are increasingly many carnal desires and the laborers are few and feeble, only those who are my perfect laborers shall know the multitude of my

[29] Cf. Acts I, 14 — [30] Cf. I Tim. v, 5 — [31] Jer. XXXIII, 22.

words, even everything which many times I spoke to you in private before I suffered, and which you know. You also have them as you understand them. For my mysteries are given to those who are mine, with whom * I shall rejoice and exalt with my Father. When they * p. 9 shall be released from (earthly) life they shall come to me."

"These my words, (and) those of the rest, determining and appointing them, you have to speak in the church."

"But from the day that my believers also shall wish to know what they should do, namely, the things in this, my testament. I will be with them and will be praised among them and I will make my dwelling with them, making known to them by power the desires of my Father."

"See that you do not give my holy things to the dogs and do not throw pearls before swine [32] as I have commanded you many times. Give not my holy things to degraded and wicked men who do not carry my cross [33] and are not subject (to me). And my commandments shall be derided among them. And it shall be to him that is embittered and does not do them, and gives my words without profit, for the destruction of their souls."

"But it shall be spoken and given to those who are firm and fixed and do not turn aside, who fulfill my commandments and this tradition so that, observing these things, they shall remain holy and upright and strong in me, fleeing from the downfall of iniquity and from the death of sin. The Holy Spirit bestows upon them His grace so that they may believe uprightly, so that in the spirit they may know spiritually the things of the spirit [34] and in hope may endure labor and in joy shall serve my Gospel and bear the mocking of the cross — not doubting, but glorifying. For verily I say unto you that such as these men and such as these women shall, after death, dwell in the third order of my Father who has sent me."

"I tell you therefore what is proper for * the sanctuary. Thereafter * p. 10 I shall make known the holy canons of the priests of the church."

"The church then shall be thus:

"It has three entrances, as a type of the Trinity."

"Let the room of the deacons be on the right of the right hand entrance, in order that the Eucharists, i.e., offerings, those which are offered, may be seen."

[32] Matth. VII, 6 — [33] Cf. Matth. X, 38; XVI, 24 — [34] Cf. I Cor. II, 10-14.

"It has a fore-court, a portico leading around to the diaconicum."

"Further, inside the fore-court, there shall be the place of baptistery."

"Its length, twenty-one cubits, as a universal type of the prophets, but its width, twelve cubits, as a type of those who have been decreed to proclaim the Gospel, with one entrance and three exits."

"The church shall have a house of the catechumens which shall also be the house of the exorcists. It shall, however, not be separated from the church, but so (located) that those who enter it and are in it shall hear the lections and spiritual praises and psalms."[35]

"Then there shall be a (place) for sitting towards the altar, on the right and on the left, the places of the presbyters; on the right may sit those who have excelled more and who are the more honored and those who labor in the work [36], but those who are middle-aged on the left side."

"But that place of sitting shall be three steps high for it is right that there the altar shall be."

"That house shall have two porches, on the right and on the left, one for men and one for women."

"All the places shall be lighted, both for a type and also for lections."

"The altar shall have a veil of pure linen, for it is without spot."

* p. 11 * "Also the baptistery, likewise, shall be under a veil."

"But a place shall be built for purpose of commemoration where the priest and archdeacon, sitting with the readers, shall write the names of those who offer the oblations or of those for whom they have offered them; and then, when the oblations are offered by the bishop, a reader or the archdeacon shall name them in commemoration which the priests and the people offer for them in supplication. For this is the type in heaven."

"The place of the presbyters shall be within the veil, beside that place of commemoration."

"The house of the offering and the treasury shall be completely beside the diaconicum."

"But the place of the lections shall be beyond the altar."

"The house of the bishops shall be towards that place which is called the forecourt."

"Also that of those widows who are called 'those that sit in front'."

[35] Cf. Col. III, 16; Eph. V, 19 — [36] Cf. I Tim. V, 17.

"Also that of the presbyters and of the deacons shall be behind the baptistery."

"But the deaconesses shall remain near the door of the dominical house."

"The church shall have a house for reception nearby where the archdeacons shall receive strangers."

"Now, when the house is (designed) as is proper and right then the bishop shall be appointed, elected by all the people according to the will of the (Holy) Spirit [37], having no blemish, chaste, quiet, humble, without anxiety, watchful, not money loving, without reproach, not quarrelsome, compassionate, a teacher [38], not * excessively talkative, * p. 12 a lover of good things [39], a lover of labors, a lover of widows, a lover of orphans, a lover of the poor, acquainted with the mysteries, not tardy and distracted by this world, peaceful and perfect in all good things as one to whom the order and place of God is entrusted."

"It is good that, also, he shall be without a wife, but in any case that he has been the husband of one wife only [40] so that he may sympathize with the weakness of widows."

"He shall be appointed when he is of middle-age, not a youth."

"He, who shall be such a one as this, shall receive the laying on of hands on the first day of the week when all, having consented to his appointment and testified for him with all the presbyters and all the bishops, those who are near."

"The bishops shall lay hands on him, having first washed their hands."

"The presbyters, however, shall stand beside them, being silent with fear, lifting up their hearts in silence."

"But then the bishops lay hands on him saying: 'We lay hands on this servant of God who has been chosen by the Spirit for the true and pious institution of the church, which alone has the principality and which is not dissolved, of the invisible living God and for the delivering of true judgments and holy elections and of divine gifts and faithful doctrines of the Trinity, by the cross, through the resurrection of incorruptibility in the holy church of God'."

"Next, after this, one bishop commanded by the other bishops shall lay hands on him saying his calling of appointment thus:

[37] Cf. Acts XIII, 2; XX, 28 — [38] I Tim. III, 2; of. Tit. I, 8 — [39] Tit. I, 8 — [40] I Tim. III, 2; Tit. I, 6.

* p. 13 * PRAYER OF ORDINATION OF A BISHOP

"O God, who hast made all things in power and hast established them and hast founded the inhabited world with a purpose, who hast adorned the crown of all these things which were made by Thee, who hast given to them Thy commandments to be observed in fear, who hast bestowed upon us the understanding of the truth and hast made known unto us Thy Spirit that is good, who didst send Thy beloved Son, the only Savior, without spot for our redemption."

"O God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Father of mercies, and God of all comfort, who in the pure heights doest dwell eternally, who art high and praiseworthy, dreadful and great, who seest all things, who knowest the mind of them before they are, with whom all things were before they were made, who gavest illumination to the church by the grace of Thy only-begotten Son, having predestined from the beginning those who delight in just things and do those things that are holy, to dwell in Thy dwellings; who didst choose Abraham who pleased Thee by his faith and didst translate holy Enoch to the treasure house of life, who hast ordered rulers and priests in Thy sanctuary on high; O Lord who didst call them that in the place of Thy glory they shall glorify and honor the name of Thee and of Thy only-begotten, O Lord."

"O God, who before the foundations of the world didst not leave Thy high sancturary without the ministry and again since the foundations of the world hast adorned and honored Thy sanctuaries with believing rulers and priests after the type of Thy heaven; Thou, Lord, who even now art well pleased to be glorified and hast vouchsafed that there should be rulers for Thy people, illumine and pour out understanding and the grace which comes from Thy princely spirit which Thou didst deliver to Thy beloved Son Jesus Christ; give wisdom, O God, reasoning, strength, power, oneness of the Spirit, to
* p. 14 do all things by Thy cooperation. * Give the Spirit which is Thine, O holy God; send Him who was given to Thy holy ones, to Thy holy and pure church and to every place which is Thy sanctuary; and grant, O Lord, that this, Thy servant, shall please Thee for doxology and for laudation without ceasing, O God; for fitting and opportune hymns of praise, for acceptable prayers, for faithful petitions, for an upright mind, for a humble heart for the work of life and of humility and of truth for the knowledge of uprightness."

'O Father who knowest the hearts [41] (bestow grace) upon this one, Thy servant, whom Thou hast chosen for the episcopate to feed Thy holy flock and to stand at the head of the priesthood without fault, serving Thee day and night; and grant that Thy face may be seen by him; vouchsafe, O Lord, that he may offer to Thee the offerings of Thy holy church, carefully with all fear; grant him that he may have Thy authoritative spirit to loose all bands, as Thou hast given to Thy apostles [42], to please Thee in humility; complete him in love, knowledge, in understanding, in discipline, in perfection, in strength, and in a pure heart when he prays for the people and when he mourns for those who suffer, and draws them towards assistance when he offers to Thee doxologies and thanksgivings and prayers, a sweet smelling savor [43], through Thy beloved Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom to Thee (be) praise and honor and might with the Holy Spirit also now and at all times and forever and ever without end. Amen."

"All the people shall say: 'Amen.' "

"And then let them cry out: 'He is worthy, he is worthy, he is worthy'."

"But after he has become (the bishop), let the people celebrate three days according to the mystery that in three days (Christ) rose from the dead. But everyone shall give him the peace."

* "But he shall continually be at the altar. In prayers he shall be persistent day and night, particularly in times such as: at the first hour, at midnight and at early twilight when the star of the adorned one rises; then, also, in the morning and at the third, the sixth, the ninth and the twelfth hour at the lighting." * p. 15

"If, also, at every hour he offers a prayer without ceasing on behalf of the people and himself, he does well."

"He shall remain in the house of the church alone."

"If he has one or two like himself, it is good that he should be with them because of united supplication in unison. For where two or three are gathered in my name you know that I have said unto you that I am in their midst." [44]

"But if he is not able to remain the whole night completely, he shall stay these hours that I have said. For then the angels visit the church."

"He shall fast three days [45] (each week) all year."

[41] Cf. Acts I, 24 — [42] Cf. Matth. XVIII, 18 — [43] Cf. Eph. V, 2 — [44] Matth. XVIII, 20 — [45] Lit. three three days.

"But for three weeks after his consecration he shall keep the fast according to the number of the eighteen exalted entrances, those through which the Only-begotten passed when He entered on the passion."

"But on the first day of the week he shall feed only on bread and on oil and honey and salt and all fruits of trees. But in no way shall he taste wine except only the cup of the offering. This he shall use whether ill or whether healthy. For it is good that this shall be for the priests only."

"And so — after these (weeks) — all the year he shall fast three days (each week), and for the rest of the time he shall fast according to his strength."

"In no way, however, shall he eat meat, not that, should he taste it or eat it, he becomes blameworthy, but because of the mind and because when he loves infirmity the strong (meats) are not suitable in order that he may keep the watch."

* p. 16 * "Moreover, the offerings shall be on Saturday and on the first day of the week only, and on a day of fast."

"But on the eve he shall admonish and teach these things in the manner of a mystery to those whom he has tested that they have ears to hear."

"If, however, he shall be sick in body, he shall quickly take measures to heal himself, feeding on fish and continually and frequently a little wine of the holy thing, that the church also may not cease and that those who learn the Word shall receive joy."

"When teaching in the church he shall speak carefully as a man who knows that he is speaking in testimony of the teaching of all the ministry of the Father of all, that which is accurately written. He shall say all these things, all those which he, knowing accurately, shall remember beforehand. For if he knows what he says, it is right for him to hope that also his hearers will know these things. And together with all his labor he shall beseech the Lord so that His Word may produce the fruits of the Holy Spirit in those who obey" [46].

"He shall do everything in order and with knowledge."

"He shall dismiss the catechumens after he has admonished them with meditations and prophetic and apostolic admonitions of the words of the teachings so that they may know Him whom they confess."

[46] Lit. hear.

"Moreover, he shall teach the believers after the manner of a mystery when he has first dismissed the catechumens."

"After instruction in the manner of a mystery he shall offer so that, knowing in what mystery they are partaking, they shall approach with fear."

"He shall, however, offer on Saturday three loaves for a complete symbol of the Trinity."

"He shall offer four loaves for a complete symbol of the Gospel on the first day of the week."

"Because the ancient people erred, when he offers, the veil in front of the door shall be spread out, and inside it he shall offer with the presbyters and deacons and the canonical widows and sub-deacons and deaconesses and readers — those who have gifts."

"The bishop shall stand first in the center and the presbyters * * p. 17 immediately behind him on two sides and the widows immediately behind the presbyters on the left side, and the deacons also behind the presbyters on the right hand side; but the readers behind them, and the subdeacons behind the readers, and the deaconesses behind the subdeacons."

"The bishop, then, shall place his hand on those loaves which have been put on the altar and the presbyters shall place their hands together with him, but the rest shall be standing only."

"The loaf of the catechumens shall not be received, not even if the catechumen has a believing son or wife and wishes to offer on their behalf. It shall not be offered if he is not baptized."

"But before the bishop or presbyter shall offer, the people shall give the peace to one another."

Appointment of a presbyter: how it is right that the presbyter ought to be

"A presbyter shall be ordained when testified to by all the people according to these things that have been said before: wise in reading, humble, poor, not money loving, having labored much in the service among the weak, proven to be pure, without blame; if he has been as a father to the orphans, if he has served the poor, if he has not remained uncultivated by the church, if in all things he is pious,

[47] Cf. Num. xi, 17 ff.

quiet, that by being so he shall in all things be accounted worthy to have those things that are fitting and suitable, revealed to him by God, and that he also may be counted worthy of the gift of healing."

* p. 18 "The consecration of the presbyter shall be thus : * all the priestly *qeyāmā* conducting him, the bishop lays his hand on his head, the presbyters touching him and holding him, the bishop then shall say thus."

The prayer of ordination of a presbyter

"O God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the ineffable One, the light, who hast neither beginning nor ending; the Lord, who hast ordered all things and set up bounds for them and by reason hast decreed all these things which have been created by Thee; respond to us and look upon this, Thy servant, and make him a partaker and give him the spirit of grace and of reason and of strength, the spirit of discernment which does not grow old and is imperishable, worthy of the elect, loving the believers, reproving so that he may help and govern Thy people by labor, by fear, by a pure heart, by holiness, by splendor, by wisdom, and by the operation of Thy Holy Spirit, through Thy care, O Lord. When, as in like manner, Thou didst look upon Thy people, the chosen, and Thou didst command Moses to ask for elders and as Thou didst fill them with Thy Spirit and didst bestow Him upon Thy attendant, so now, O Lord, bestow on him Thy Spirit whom Thou didst give to those who were made disciples by Thyself and to all those who through them truly believed in Thee [48]. And make him worthy, being filled with Thy wisdom and with Thy hidden mysteries to shepherd Thy people in the righteousness of a pure and true heart, glorifying, blessing, lauding, giving thanks, offering a doxology all the time, day and night, to Thy holy and glorious name, laboring with cheerfulness and perseverence for the pur-

* p. 19 pose that he shall become * a vessel of Thy Holy Spirit, having and bearing always the cross of Thy only-begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, through Him be praise and might to Thee with the Holy Spirit for ever and ever."

"The people shall say 'Amen'."

[48] Cf. John xvii, 20.

"Both the priests and the people shall give him the peace with a holy kiss."

"But after he has become (a priest), he shall be constant at the altar making prayers in labor, without ceasing."

"But some times alone in some house, he shall allow himself a rest from the things of the dominical house; but not ceasing an hour from supplications."

"He shall fast three days [49] each (week) all year to the end that he might be perfected in mind."

"Moreover, (he shall fast) according to his strength, not wandering and roaming (being moved) by every spirit, but doing everything with energy, always taking the burden and load of Him who was crucified for Him, by praying for all the people."

"Moreover, the teaching of the presbyters shall be suitable and he shall not speak vain things, but all such things as the hearers when they hear may keep them and do."

"The presbyter shall be mindful of all the things that he teaches. For in the day of the Lord it will be demanded (of him) that he shall testify to the people of these things which he spoke so that those who did not obey may be reproved. For he is to stand before the glory of the Father [50] again speaking those things which he taught. Thus, then, he shall teach so that he does not perish from those who hear."

"He shall pray that the Lord may give them acceptance of knowledge and of the truth [...] that he shall not vainly cast pearls before swine." [51]

* Appointment of a deacon

* p. 20

"But the deacon shall be appointed, chosen in accord with the things which have previously been mentioned: if his life is good, if he is pure, if he has been chosen for his purity and for abstinence from enticements; if not, then if he is married to one wife [52], borne witness to by all believers, not entangled in the transactions of the world, not knowing a handicraft, without riches, without children."

"But if he has a wife or has children, let his children be taught

[49] Lit. three three days — [50] Rom. xiv, 10; II Cor. v, 10 — [51] Matth. vii, 6 — [52] Cf. I Tim. iii, 12.

to know piety; they shall be pure in order that they may be those who are pleasing to the church according to the rule of the ministry."

"But the church shall take care of them so that they may persevere in the law and in the work of the ministry."

"Further, he shall accomplish in the churches those things which are right. His ministry shall be thus."

"First he shall do only those things which are commanded by the bishop for proclamation." [53]

"He shall be the counselor of the whole clergy and the mystery of the church, who serves the sick, who serves the strangers, who helps the widows, who is the father of the orphans, who circulates in the houses of those that are in need, lest any be in sickness or misery."

"He shall circulate in the houses of the catechumens so that he may establish those who are in doubt and change those who are heretics."

"Regarding those who need help, he shall notify the church."

"He shall not trouble the bishop, but on the first day of the week he shall make mention about everything (so that he may know)."

"He shall be watchful at the hour of the gathering."

* p. 21 * "If he is in a town on the seashore, he shall go about the places and discover whether any one has drowned and where he shall enshroud and bury him."

"He shall give each one throughout the church what is right."

"Whatsoever he can (he must do) to accomplish the degree of the deaconate in this way, and he shall be called a son of the light."

"But he is consecrated thus and his consecration shall be in this way : the bishop alone shall lay hands on him, for he is not appointed to the priesthood but for the service of attendance to the bishop and the church."

The prayer of ordination of a deacon

"O God, who didst create all things and didst adorn them by the Word, who delightest in pure labors, who didst minister to us eternal life through Thy prophets, who didst illumine us through the light of knowledge; O God who doest great things and art the maker of all praise, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, whom Thou didst send to minister to Thy will that all our race shall be redeemed and didst

[53] Or : good tidings, the Gospel.

make known to us and didst reveal Thy thought, Thy wisdom, Thy energy, Thy beloved Son Jesus Christ, the Lord of Lights, the Prince of princes and God of gods — give the spirit of grace and seriousness to this Thy servant that there may be given to him seriousness, serenity, strength, power to please Thee; give him, O Lord, (to become) as a worker in the Law without shame, kind, a lover of orphans, a lover of the pious, a lover of the chaste widows, him whom Thou hast loved and chosen to serve Thy church, offering * in holiness those things * p. 22 which are offered to Thee from the inheritance of Thy high priesthood, so that he shall serve without blame, purely and holily, and with a pure conscience become worthy of this high and exalted rank of Thy good will, praising Thee continually through Thy only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ our Lord, through Him be the praises and powers to Thee forever and ever."

"The people (shall say), 'Amen'."

"If one be born witness to and it be confessed that he was in bonds and in imprisonment and in sufferings for the name of God, a hand, therefore, is not laid on him for the deaconate."

"In like manner, also, not for the presbyterate."

"For he has the honor of the clergy having been sheltered by the hand of God by his confessorship."

"But if he be appointed bishop, he is also counted worthy of the laying on of the hand."

"And (even) if he is a confessor who has not been judged before the authority and has not been afflicted in bonds but has only confessed, he is made worthy of the laying on of the hand."

"For he receives the prayer of the clergy. But one shall not pray over him repeating all these words, but when the shepherd advances he will receive the effect."

Concerning widows

"A widow shall be appointed when she has been chosen, if for a long time past she has remained without a man; if, though pressed many times by men to be married, because of the faith, she has not married."

"But if not, it is not yet right that she should be chosen. She shall be proven for a time if she is pious, if having children * she has raised * p. 23

them in holiness [54], if she has not taught them worldly wisdom, if they are examples in the holy laws and in the church, if she has loved and honored strangers [55], if she has been constant in prayers, if she has behaved humbly, if she has gladly assisted those who are suffering, if it has been revealed to the saints about her, if she has not neglected the saints, if she has served with entire power, if she is able to carry the burden and endure."

"When these (requirements) and similar ones are fulfilled, she shall be appointed."

"Thus shall the consecration be. As she prays at the entrance of the altar and she looks down, the bishop shall say quietly so that only the priests shall hear, as follows."

The prayer of the institution of the widows who sit in the front

"O God, the Holy One, the most high, who seest the things that are humble, who hast chosen the weak and the mighty; the Honored One, who hast created, also, those things which are despised, impart, O Lord, the spirit of power upon this Thine handmaid and strengthen her in Thy truth so that, doing Thy commandment and serving in the house of Thy sanctuary, she may be an honored vessel [56] unto Thee and may glorify Thee in the day when Thou wilt glorify Thy poor, O Lord. And give her power that she shall gladly practice these, Thy teachings, which Thou hast determined as a rule for Thine handmaid. Give her, O Lord, the spirit of humility and of power and of patience and of kindness so that, bearing Thy burden with ineffable joy, she may endure labors. Yea, O Lord God, who knowest our weakness, perfect Thine handmaid for the glory of Thine house, strengthen her for edification and a good example, sanctify her, make her wise, encourage her, O God, for blessed and glorious is Thy Kingdom, O God the Father. And to Thee be praise and to Thy only-begotten
* p. 24 * Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the Holy Spirit, good and adorable, the maker of life [57], and in equal essence [58] with Thee, now and before all the worlds and for the generations for ever and ever. Amen."

"The people (shall say), 'Amen'."

[54] I Tim. v, 10 — [55] I Tim. v, 10 — [56] Cf. Rom. ix, 21; II Tim. ii, 21 — [57] Rendering of ζωοποιός — [58] Rendering of ὁμοούσιος.

"When she has become (a consecrated widow) she shall pray without ceasing [59]; in all excellence she shall be as one boiling in spirit [60], having the eyes of her heart [61] opened in everything and she shall always have kindness as one who loves affection."

"After she (has become a widow) in this way, she shall not be anxious about anything, but she shall remain solitary because of the supplications of piety and tranquillity. For the foundation of holiness and life for a widow such as this is solitude. For she has loved none other than the God of gods, the Father who is in heaven."

"But at fixed times she shall offer praise by herself and for herself in the night and at dawn."

"If she shall have the (monthly) course, she shall abide in the temple, but shall not approach the altar. This is not because she is defiled, but in order that the altar shall have honor.

Afterwards when she fasts and washes herself, she shall be as assiduous (at the altar)."

"During the days of Pentecost, however, she shall not fast."

"But during the feast of Pascha [62], she shall wash herself and thus pray."

"She shall not be anxious for her children; she shall deliver them to the church so that they shall grow up in the house of God and shall be suitable for the ministry of the priesthood."

"For those, who serve the Lord well, purely and in holiness, shall be praised by the archangels. But as for those who are gluttons and furious and drunken and idle talkers and peering [63] and evil, that is, those who dearly love pleasure — the figures of their souls which stand before the father of lights shall perish and be carried off to dwell in darkness. For their * works which also are visible, going up before * p. 25 the Most High, shall drag them easily to the pits of destruction so that after this world is changed and has passed away, the figures of their souls shall rise against them as witnesses which will not permit them to look up.

For the figure and type of every soul stands before God from the foundations of the world. Therefore, it is right that one will be chosen who can meet the holy phials." [64]

[59] I Thess. v, 17 — [60] Rom. xii, 11 — [61] Eph. i, 18 — [62] πάσχα — [63] Or: curious — [64] Cf. Rev. v, 8.

Concerning the subdeacon

"In like manner is the subdeacon, who is chaste, appointed, the bishop praying over him."

"On the first day of the week when all the people (are present) to hear, the bishop shall say to him thus : 'You N.N., serve and obey the Gospel in the fear of God. Cultivate in holiness the knowledge of your soul, observe purity, pursue diligence, observe and give heed and obey in humility, relax not in prayers and fasts so that the Lord may give you rest and make you worthy of a higher degree'." [65]

"And all the priests shall say, 'So be it, so be it, so be it'."

Concerning the reader

"A *qārūyā* to be instituted is to be one who is pure, quiet, humble, with much experience, learned and of much study, well remembered, vigilant, so that he may also deserve a higher degree."

"First, the Book is given to him in the sight of the people on the first day of the week."

"The hand, however, is not laid on him, but he hears from the bishop (the following) : 'You, N.N., whom Christ has blessed to be a servant
* p. 26 of His words, be diligent and strive that in the end * you may appear [approved [66]] in a higher degree so that Christ may pay you a good reward for these things'."

"And the priests shall say, 'So be it, so be it, so be it'."

Concerning the male and female virgins

"A male and female virgin is not established by someone or appointed, but is voluntarily set apart and named (so)."

"But the hand is not laid on him as for virginity, for this rank is of their own free will."

"But it is right for virgins that they should continue in fasting and in prayer, in weeping and in mourning, expecting a departure (from this world) and as (already) departing, having been released from the flesh, always striving."

"They shall not conduct themselves in madness, in debauchery,

[65] Or : office; cf. I Tim. III, 13 — [66] II Tim. II, 15.

in drunkenness, in vain talking, but they are as the one who is on the cross."

"Their hearts shall be (lifted) up with every humility."

"They shall meditate upon the holy Scriptures with believing thoughts in divine consulation so that when they pray they shall be answered."

Concerning gifts

"If anyone appears among the people who has a gift of healing or of knowledge or of tongues [67], a hand is not laid on him, for the work is manifest."

"They, however, shall have honor."

* [II] * p. 27

AGAIN FROM THE TESTAMENT OF OUR LORD THE SECOND BOOK OF CLEMENT COMMANDMENTS AND CANONS OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST ON MANY KINDS AND CONCERNING THE HOLY BAPTISM; THE COMMANDMENT WHICH IS THE DECREE WHICH OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST HAS SET UP CONCERNING THE ORDER OF THOSE WHO ARE TO BE BAPTIZED

Concerning those laymen

"Let those who initially come forward, to hear the Word, before they are allowed to go among all the people, first approach the teacher in the house."

"All the motives shall be examined with complete accuracy so that their teachers shall know for what reason they approach or with what will."

"And if (they approach) with a good will and love, they shall be diligently taught."

[67] Cf. I Cor. xii, 1-10.

"But those who bring them shall be such as are well on in years, believers who are known by the church and they shall testify whether they are able to obey."

"And their manners and way of life shall be queried whether they are not contentious, whether quiet, humble, not speaking vain things, or whether despisers, or foul speakers, or imposters, or ludicrous ones."

"Again whether any of them has a wife or not; and if of his own free will one does not have (a wife) he shall be instructed continually and diligently and shall be persuaded with all kindness to amend
* p. 28 * his failings. And the bishop shall provide for him in prophetic admonitions which lead him to purity."

"And if he makes progress with apostolic teachings and afterwards with the evangelical and perfect Word of teaching, and if he is deserving, he shall be baptized."

"And if thus he is worthy of the hidden things, he shall hear them by himself and make progress in that canon."

"To him who desires to marry, let there not be even a single obstacle so that he shall not be caught by the evil one in fornication."

"But he shall marry a Christian, a believing woman of the race of the Christians who is able to keep her man in the faith."

"So does the bishop command, thus providing for him."

"Again he who approaches shall be asked whether he is a slave or a son of the free, and if slave, whether of one who is a believer, and further whether his master permits him to hear."

"But if his master is not a believer and does not so permit him, he shall be persuaded to permit him."

"And if he genuinely expresses reasons about him (that he wishes to become a Christian because) he hates his masters, but he shows that he wishes to become a Christian, he shall hear."

"But if his master is a believer and does not testify in his behalf, he shall be cast out."

"In like manner (if a woman) is the wife of a man, the woman shall be taught to please her man in the fear of God. But if they both desire to work in piety and purity, they shall have a reward."

"He who is without marriage shall not fornicate, but shall marry in the law."

"But, if he wants to remain thus, he shall abide in the Lord."

"If anyone be tormented by a demon, he shall not hear the Word from a teacher until he is cleansed. For the mind when burned with

* a material spirit does not receive the Word, immaterial and holy. * p. 29
But once he is cleansed, he shall be instructed in the Word."

"If he is a fornicator or brothel [1] keeper [2] or a drunkard or a shaper of idols or a painter or of those in the house of the theater or a charioteer or a wrestler or one who goes to the contest or a combatant (in the games) or one who teaches wrestlings or a public huntsman or a priest of idols or a keeper of them, he shall not be received."

"If any such wants to become a believer, he shall cease from these things, then when he in (very) deed believes and is baptized, he shall be received and will have fellowship. But if he does not cease, he shall be rejected."

"If anyone is a teacher of boys in worldly wisdom, it is well if he ceases. But if he has no other profession by which to live, he shall have the remission."

"If anyone is a soldier or in authority, he shall be taught not to oppress or also not to kill or to rob or to covet or to rage at and afflict any man."

"Further, let those rations suffice him which are given to him."

"But if they want to be baptized in the Lord, they shall cease from their service or from the authority; if not, they shall not be received."

"Let the catechumen or a believer from the people, if he wishes to serve (as a soldier), either cease from his thought, or if not, he shall be rejected. For he has despised God by his thought and leaving these things of the Spirit, he has perfected himself in the flesh and has poured contempt upon the faith."

"Again if a fornicatrix or a desolute man or a drunkard shall do these things no longer but wish, since they now believe, to become nourished, that they may do."

"And if they make progress, they shall be baptized; but if not, they shall be rejected."

"Should a concubine of a man, if she be a servant, wish * to believe, * p. 30
then, if she educates those who are born of her and if she distances herself from her master or is joined to him alone in marriage, she shall hear, and being baptized she shall partake in the offering. But if not, she shall be rejected."

"He who does things not effable or who is a diviner or a magician

[1] Rendering of *πορνοβοσκός* — [2] Lit. one feeding on fornication.

or a necromancer, these are defiled and (their cases) do not come under adjudication."

"A charmer or a speaker of the stars or a diviner by idols — it is all the same — when he ceases he shall be exorcized and baptized. If not, he shall be rejected."

"If a man has a concubine, he shall divorce her and marry in the law, and he shall hear the word of admonition."

"He who is instructed with all care and obeys [3] the perfectness of the Gospel shall be instructed not less than three years; and if he is loving, striving for baptism, he shall be baptized."

"But if he is quiet and humble and diligent and persevering and staying with him who teaches him in labor, in watching, in confession, in vigilance, and in prayers, if he wishes to be baptized sooner, he shall be baptized. For it is not the time that is judged, but the will of faith."

"Those who are instructed, after the teacher ceases, shall pray apart from the believers and go out so that the believers shall learn when the presbyter or deacon reads the New (Testament) or the Gospel.

"The believing women in the church shall stand by themselves and the female catechumens by themselves apart from those who believe — all the women separately from the men, the girls also apart, each according to her order."

"The men are on the right and the women on the left (side), the
* p. 31 * believing virgins first and those who are being instructed for virginity behind them."

"After the prayer those who are the female catechumens shall give the peace to one another; also men to men, and women to women."

"Every woman shall cover her head with her hair also." [4]

"The women becomingly and decorously shall behave modestly in their adornment [5] nor shall they be adorned with plaited hair or with (precious) stones — lest the young men who are in the church shall be caught — but with chastity and knowledge."

"But if they do not do so, they shall be instructed by the widows who sit in front."

"But if they rebelliously resist, the bishop shall reprove them."

"After the catechumens have prayed, the bishop or the presbyter laying a hand on them shall say the prayer of the laying on of the hand for catechumens."

[3] Lit. hears — [4] Cf. I Cor. xi, 5-6 — [5] I Tim. ii, 9.

The prayer of catechumens

"O God, who dost send thunderings and preparest lightning, who hast founded the heaven and spread the earth and enlightenest the faithful and convertest them that err; who hast quickened those who were dead and hast given hope to those who were without hope and hast freed the universe from error by the descending of Thy only begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ; respond, O Lord, and give to these souls intelligence, perfectness, faith which does not doubt, knowledge of the truth, that they shall be in a higher degree than this, through the holy name of Thee and of Thy beloved Son, Jesus Christ our Lord; through Him be praise and might to Thee with Thy Holy Spirit both now and always and forever and ever. Amen."

* "After this they shall be dismissed." * p. 32

"If anyone, being a catechumen, shall be apprehended for my name and be judged with tortures, and hasten and press forward to receive the laver, the shepherd shall not hesitate, but he shall give it to him."

"But, if he suffers violence and is killed, not yet having received the laver, he shall not be anxious; for as being baptized in his own blood, he is justified."

"But, if they are chosen one by one to receive the laver, they shall first be investigated and examined about the way they conducted themselves while they were catechumes — whether they have honored widows, have visited the sick, have walked in all meakness and love [6], and whether they were diligent in good works." [7]

"Those who present them shall give a testimony."

"And when they hear the Gospel every day the hand shall be laid on them."

"They shall be exorcized from that day when they are chosen."

"They shall be baptized during the days of the Pascha."

"But when the days approach, the bishop exorcizes each one of them separately by himself so that he may be persuaded that each one is pure."

"For if there is one that is not pure or in whom there is an unclean spirit, he shall be reproved by that unclean spirit."

"If, then, anyone is found under any suspicion like this, he shall be removed from the church and he shall be reproved and reproached

[6] Eph. v, 2 — [7] Tit II, 14.

that he has not heard the word of the commandments and of instruction faithfully because the evil and the strange spirit has remained in him."

"Those who are prepared to receive the laver shall be taught on the fifth day of the last week only to wash and cleanse their heads."

"But if any woman then be in the customary flux, she shall take beforehand, in addition, another day for washing and cleansing."

* p. 33 * "They shall fast both on the Friday as well as on the Saturday."

"But on the Saturday the bishop shall gather those who are to receive the laver and he shall order them to kneel while the deacon makes the proclamation."

"And when there is silence, laying a hand on them, he shall exorcize them saying thus."

Exorcism

which is before the lavering of those being baptized

"O God of heaven, God of the lights [8], God of the archangels who are under Thy power, God of glories and of dominions [9], God of saints, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hast loosed the souls that were bound by death, who hast enlightened him that was bound in darkness and fixed firm by the firm fixing of the suffering of Thine Only-begotten, who hast loosed our cords and has loosed all burdens from us, who hast repelled from us every attack of the evil one; O Son and Word of God who hast made us immortal by Thy death, who hast glorified us with Thy glory, who has loosed all the bonds of sin by Thy suffering, who hast carried the curse of our sin through Thy cross and by Thy resurrection hast taught (us) to pass from being sons of men to that of God's; who hast taken on Thee our humiliation and hast healed us, O Lord; who hast trodden the way to heaven for us, who hast changed us from corruption to incorruptibility; hear me, O Lord, who in pain and fear cry to Thee."

"O Lord God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, before whom the holy hosts of archangels stand and cherubim and armies without number, of princes and of seraphim whose veil is the light and whose face is fire, the throne of Thy unutterable glory, whose habitations of delight which Thou hast prepared for Thy saints are ineffable,

[8] James 1, 17 — [9] Col. 1, 16.

the raiments * and treasures of which are visible to Thee alone and * p. 34
to Thy holy angels on whose account all things tremble, glorifying; whose glance measures the mountains and whose name when spoken cleaves the depth; whom the heavens which are shut up by Thy hand hide Thee from view, before whom the earth and the depth together tremble, before whom the sea and the dragons that are in it quake; before whom the wild beasts of the earth stand in awe trembling; through whom the mountains and the firmaments of the earth melt in fear, by whose power the tempest of the winter quakes and tremors, and the raging whirlwind keeps its limits; because of whom the fire of vengeance does not pass over that which has been commanded to it, but abides when reproved by Thy commandments; because of whom the whole creation travails, groaning with groans [10], but which Thou hast ordered to tarry till its time; from whom all nature and creation that opposes itself flees; because of whom the whole army of the adversary is subdued and the devil is fallen and the serpent is trodden down and the dragon is killed; because of whom the nations which have confessed Thee are enlightened and strengthened in Thee, O Lord; because of whom life enters and hope is confirmed and faith strengthened and the Good News preached; because of whom corruption is annulled and incorruptibility strengthened; through Thy hand man was formed from the earth, but having believed in Thee he is earth no more."

"O Lord God Almighty, I exorcize these in the name of Thee and of Thy beloved son, Jesus Christ. Expel from the souls of these, Thy servants, every disease and illness and every stumbling block, and all unbelief, all doubt, and all contempt, every unclean spirit in operation — that is a witch, killing, which is under the earth, fiery, dark, evil smelling, given to witchcraft, * lustful, loving gold, proud, * p. 35
money loving, wrathful."

"Yea, O Lord my God, overthrow from these Thy servants who have been named in Thee the weapons of the devil — all magic, witchcraft, fear of idols, divination, astrology, observation of the stars, necromancy, astronomy, pleasure of the passions, love of foul deeds, sadness, love of money, drunkenness, fornication, adultery, wantonness, audacity, strife, wrath, confusion, wickedness, evil expectation."

"Yea O Lord God, hear me and breathe on these Thy servants

[10] Rom. VIII, 22.

the spirit of tranquillity, that being kept by Thee they may produce the fruits of faith, of virtue, of wisdom, of purity, of ascetisicm, of love, of kindness, of endurance, of hope, of oneness of mind, of modesty and of praise. Because of Thee, they have been called as servants in the name of Jesus Christ, being baptized in the Trinity — in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit — as Thy angels, archangels, glories, dominions, all the heavenly army being witnesses. O Lord, the sustenance of our life and of theirs, keep their hearts, O our God, for Thou art mighty and glorious forever and ever."

"And all the people and the priests as well shall say: 'Amen, so be it, so be it, so be it'."

"If anyone comes under the endurance of something (alien) he shall rise immediately while the bishop is saying (these words) and if such a one weeps or cries out or foams (at the mouth) or gnashes his teeth or stares fixedly or is much uplifted or altogether fleeing, being quickly
* p. 36 seized, * he shall be removed by the deacons so that there shall be no disturbance while the bishop is speaking."

"One such as this shall be exorcized by the priests until he is cleansed, and then he shall be baptized."

"After the priest exorcizes those who have drawn near, or him who is found to be unclean, he shall breathe on them and mark them between their eyes, on the nostrils, on the heart and on the ears. And then shall let them arise."

"But in the forty days of the Pascha the people shall stay in the temple keeping vigil and praying, hearing the Scriptures and *tešbḥātā* and the *mēmrē* of teaching."

"On the Saturday which is the last they shall rise early in the night, and when the catechumens are being exorcized till the hour of midnight."

"Those who are prepared to be baptized shall not bring anything else with them except one loaf for the Eucharist."

"They shall be baptized thus."

"When they come to the water, the water shall be pure and flowing."

"First the children, then the men, then the women."

"But if anyone wants to approach as it were to virginity, this one shall be baptized first by the hand of the bishop."

"But the women when they are being baptized, shall free their hair."

"All the boys, those who can give answer in baptism, shall make the responses and answer after the priest."

"But if they cannot, their parents shall make their responses for them or someone of their houses."

"But when they, those who are being baptized, descend (into the water) after they make the responses and say (the answers), the bishop shall see if there is any one among them whether a man who has a ring of gold or a woman who has gold on her, for it is not right that one has * with him something strange in the water; (and) he shall deliver it to those who are near him." * p. 37

"When they are prepared to receive the oil for anointing, the bishop shall pray over it and give thanks."

"But he shall exorcize another (oil) with an exorcism, the same as in the case of catechumens."

"The deacon shall bear that which is exorcized and the presbyter shall stand by him."

"Then he who stands by that (oil) on which a thanksgiving of the oil (is said) shall be on the right hand, but he who stands by that which is exorcized, on the left."

"And when he takes hold of each one, he shall ask — he who is being baptized turning to the West — and shall say : 'Say, I renounce thee, Satan and all thy service, thy houses of shows and thy pleasures and all thy works'."

"And when he has said these things and confessed, he shall be anointed with the oil which was exorcized."

"He who anoints him says thus : 'I anoint you with this oil of exorcism for a deliverance from every evil and unclean spirit and of a deliverance for the evil one'."

"And also turning him to the East he shall say : '(Say), I submit to Thee, Father, the Son, the Holy Spirit, before whom all nature trembles and is moved; grant me that I do all Thy will without blame'."

"Then, after these things, he shall deliver him over to the presbyter who baptizes."

"And they shall stand in the water, undressed."

"The deacon shall descend with him in the same manner."

"But when he who is being baptized descends into the water, he who baptizes him shall say, putting his hand on him, thus : 'Do you believe in God, the Father Almighty ?' "

"He who is being baptized shall say : 'I believe '."

* "He shall immediately baptize him one time." * p. 38

"Again the priest shall say : 'Do you believe also in Christ Jesus,

the Son of God who came from the Father, who previously was with the Father, who was born of Mary the Virgin through the Holy Spirit, who was crucified in the days of Pontius Pilate, and died and rose the third day, (who) came to life from the dead, and ascended into heaven, and sat down on the right hand of the Father, and comes to judge the living and the dead?"

"But when he says: 'I believe', he shall baptize him the second time."

"Again he shall say: 'Do you believe also in the Holy Spirit, in the Holy Church?'"

"And he who is being baptized shall say: 'I believe'."

"And thus he shall baptize him the third time."

"Afterwards, when he ascends, he shall be anointed by the presbyter with the oil over which thanksgiving has been said."

"(The presbyter) says over him: 'I anoint you with the oil in the name of Jesus Christ'."

"But women shall be anointed by the widows who sit in front, the presbyters saying over them (the words)."

"And those widows in baptism also beneath a veil shall receive the women by a veil, the bishop saying those confessions and then so those [11] whom they [12] cause them to renounce."

"They shall also be together in the church where the bishop shall lay a hand on them after baptism saying and invoking over them thus."

The invocation of the holy spirit

"O Lord God who by Thy beloved Son, Jesus Christ, didst fill Thy
* p. 39 holy Apostles with the Holy Spirit and by * the Spirit didst permit Thy blessed prophets to speak, who didst make these Thy servants to be counted worthy in Thy Christ for forgiveness of sins through the washing of regeneration [13] and has cleansed them of all the mist of error and darkness of unbelief, make them worthy to be filled with Thy Holy Spirit by Thy love of man [14], bestowing upon them Thy grace so that they may serve Thee truly according to Thy will, O God, and shall do Thy commandments in holiness and, cultivating always those things which are of Thy will, shall enter into Thy eternal tabernacles, through Thee and through Thy beloved Son, Jesus Christ,

[11] Masculine — [12] Masculine — [13] Tit. III, 5 — [14] Rendering of φιλανθρωπία.

by whom be to Thee praise and might with the Holy Spirit for ever and ever."

"In like manner, pouring the oil, placing a hand on his head, he shall say: 'Anointing, I anoint you in God Almighty and in Jesus Christ and in the Holy Spirit that you shall be His soldier [15] who has a perfect faith and is a vessel [16] pleasing to him'."

"And marking him between his eyes, he shall give him the (sign of) peace and say: 'The Lord of God of the humble ones be with you'."

"And he who has been marked shall answer and say: "And with your Spirit'."

"And so each one severally."

"Thenceforward, they shall pray together with all the people."

* [III] * p. 40

CANONS OF THE TESTAMENT OF OUR LORD AND THE TEACHINGS OF THE SAME OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST

1. If the bishop becomes polluted [1], he shall not offer, but (instead) a presbyter shall offer.

He also shall not receive of the mystery, not as though he were defiled, but because of the honor of the altar. But after he has fasted and washed himself in pure water, he shall approach and serve.

Similarly also a presbyter.

2. If a secular or one of the *benai qeyāmā* [2] is polluted [3], he shall not approach (the altar) because of the honor (of it) except after he fasts and washes himself.

3. If also a widow shall be in a monthly course — or a woman — she shall not approach the communion of the mystery until she is cleansed and washed.

4. When the sacred mysteries have been completed, they shall participate in the following order: first the bishops, afterwards the presbyters, afterwards the deacons, afterwards widows who have been

[15] Cf. Eph. v, 11 ff. — [16] Cf. I Thess. iv, 4; II Tim. ii, 21.

[1] Lit. has a dream of coition — [2] ܒܢܝ ܩܝܡܐ 'sons of the covenant' — [3] Lit. shall see a dream of coition.

consecrated, afterwards the readers, then the subdeacons, afterwards those who have gifts, afterwards those newly baptized babes.

5. The people (shall approach) after this manner: old men, virgins, afterwards those of the rest.

6. However, each one when he receives the thanksgiving, shall say before he participates: "Amen."

Afterwards he shall pray thus: "Holy, Holy, Holy, Trinity ineffable, grant me to receive unto life this body and not unto condemnation.
* p. 41 And grant me to bring forth the fruits * that are pleasing to Thee so that when I shall be shown to be pleasing to Thee, I may live in Thee, doing Thy commandments; and that with fortitude I may call Thee Father [4] when I call for Thy kingdom and Thy will (to come) to me. But may Thy name be hallowed in me, O Lord; for Thou art mighty and to be praised and to Thee be praise for ever and ever. Amen."

After the prayer he shall receive (the communion).

7. When he takes of the cup let him say two times, "Amen", for a complete [5] symbol of the body and blood.

And after all receive, they shall pray, confessing and rendering thanks for the reception (of the communion).

8. It is right that the shepherds shall speak the teaching of initiation into the mysteries so that the believers may know of whom in the holy things they are partaking and what remembrance they are making through the Eucharist.

However, the word of initiation into the mystery shall not be said each time but at the Pascha [6], on Saturday, and on the first day of the week, and on the days of the Epiphany and of Pentecost.

9. Before the service of the mysteries, the (sacred) books and the Gospel shall be read.

Then the catechumens shall be dismissed before the participation of the mysteries.

10. If anyone comes late to (the worship) when the sacrifice is being offered, whoever he may be, he shall remain outside and the deacons shall not bring him in — for it is a type of the day of judgment [7] which is to come — lest by the noise (caused) by the entrance there be distraction for those who pray.

[4] Cf. Matth. VI, 9-13 — [5] Lit. filling up, fullness — [6] πάσχα, i.e. Easter — [7] Cf. Matth. XXV, 12.

But when he comes and finds that the door is shut, he shall not knock because of what has already been brought out.

But after the hymn of praise which is placed first is finished, the believing man or believing woman shall enter.

11. The deacon shall say to the people: "For the brother who * is late, let us beseech that the Lord may give him diligence and labor, but turn away from him every bond of this world and give him the will of affection and love and hope." In like manner for a sister or for a deaconess. * p. 42

The deacon shall admonish in order that diligence be strengthened and the bond of love fulfilled and the despiser and the lazy one be disciplined.

12. The deacons hover [8] over the Eucharist which is offered.

He who spills of the cup gathers up judgment to himself.

13. In like manner, also he who sees and remains silent and does not blame him, whoever he may be.

14. Before anyone receives baptism, he shall not know the word concerning the resurrection, for this is the new decree which has a new name; no one knows it, but he who receives it.

15. The deacons shall not give the offering to a presbyter, but he shall open the dish and paten and the presbyter himself takes (from it).

16. The deacons shall give (the offering) to the people in their hands.

17. When the presbyter is not present, in case of necessity, the deacons shall baptize.

18. But in the last week of the Pascha, on the fifth day of the week, the bread and the cup shall be offered.

19. On the days of the Pascha, especially those which are the last days, on Friday and on Saturday, by night and by day, there shall be prayers according to the number of hymns of praise.

The word shall be interpreted to the full extent.

The lections shall be various and continuous.

20. The vigils and nocturnal stations [9] shall be in a good state [10].

21. The bishops shall order that no one taste anything until the offering is completed and the whole body of the church shall receive the spiritual nourishment.

[8] Or: shall wave (the fans?) — [9] ܡܨܠܬܐ a station, a watch of the night — [10] Rendering of εὐσταθής.

22. In the evening those who are to be baptized shall be baptized (namely) after one lection.

* p. 43 * 23. But if anyone before he approaches and receives of the Eucharist shall eat something else, he sins and his fast is not reckoned to him.

24. When the catechumens are dismissed, a hand shall be laid on them.

25. The dismissal of the Pascha shall be after the Saturday, at midnight.

26. At Pentecost no one shall fast on meat. For these are days of rest and joy.

27. Let the bishop before he offers the offering say fittingly what is proper for the offering.

Those who are clothed in white receive from one another and say (to one another), "Hallelujah."

28. Those who are called with the bishop to the house of a believer shall eat modestly in knowledge, not with drunkenness or unto gluttony, and also not so that he who is present may laugh or so as to annoy the household of him that called him.

29. Those who come to the feast, being called, shall not stretch out a hand before those that are older. But the last shall eat (after) the first have ceased.

30. Those who eat shall not strive in speech, but they shall eat in silence; but if they shall be asked (a question) they shall return answer.

However, when the bishop shall say a word, let everyone, quietly, praising, choose silence for himself until he also shall be asked (a question).

31. On the days of the Pascha, especially those which are the last days on Friday and Saturday, by night and by day, there shall be prayers according to the number of hymns of praise.

The word shall be interpreted to the full extent.

The lections shall be various and continuous.

* p. 44 * 32. The vigils and nocturnal anticipations shall be in a good state.

With regard to the deacons (who keep the order), the readers shall assist them.

In like manner, also, the subdeacons.

They shall not allow them to slumber, for that night is a figure of the kingdom and especially that of Saturday.

Those who labor and persevere, let them persevere until midnight.

33. The catechumes shall first be dismissed, receiving blessings [11] from the bread which is broken.

When the believers are dismissed, they shall go with order and knowledge to their houses.

In their feasts, let them not forget the prayers.

34. The priests shall not abbreviate their services.

The women shall go. each one cleaving to her husband.

The widows shall stay until dawn in the temple, having food there.

The virgins shall stay together in the temple, and the bishop shall help and take care of them; the deacons shall serve them.

35. The lamp shall be brought into the temple by the deacons and he shall say, "The grace of our Lord be with you all."

36. The little boys shall say spiritual psalms and hymns of praise at the shine of the lamp.

All the people shall respond, "Hallelujah", to the psalm and to the chant with voices in harmony, sung together with one accord.

No one shall kneel until he who speaks ceases.

In like manner, also, when the lection is read or the word of teaching is spoken.

37. The fruits which are offered to the bishop he shall bless thus: "O God we always give thanks and also in this day * when we offer to * p. 45 Thee the first fruits of the fruits which Thou hast given us for food, having ripened them by Thy power and by Thy word, having commanded from the beginning of the creation of the worlds that the earth should bring forth various fruits for the joy and delight of men and of all animals. We praise Thee, O Lord, for these things, for all these things with which Thou hast benefited [12] us, adorning for us all the earth with different fruits."

"But bless also this Thy servant N., and receive his diligence and his love through Thine only-begotten Son Jesus Christ, through whom we give praise and honor and might to Thee with the Holy Spirit."

38. No one shall taste that which is strangled or sacrificed to idols [13].

39. If anyone shall receive a service to bring (something) to a widow or a poor woman (he shall forward it the same day).

40. If a believer because of sickness stays away, the deacon shall bring the offering to him.

[11] εὐλογίαι — [12] Rendering of ἐνεργετέω — [13] Cf. Acts xv, 29.

If anyone who is a presbyter cannot come, a presbyter shall bring (the offering) to him.

In like manner, if a woman is pregnant, a deaconess shall bring (the offering) to her.

⟨40.⟩ In answer to him who sings the psalms in the church, let the virgins and boys respond.

41. Vegetables are not blessed, but fruits of trees, flowers and the rose and the lily.

42. If anyone shall offer fruits or the first produce of crops as first fruits, he shall offer them to the bishop.

* p. 46 * 43. If anyone departs from the world, a believing man or a believing woman, and they have children, they shall give from their possessions to the church and from the things which they have that the poor may be given rest, so that God may give mercy to their children and rest to those who have fallen asleep.

44. But if a man has no children, he shall have no possessions — but he shall give of his possessions to the poor and to the prisoners and shall possess only those that are right and sufficient for him.

45. If a man has possessions and he wants to lead the ascetic life in virginity, giving all his possessions to the poor, he shall persevere and shall give to the church, persevering in prayers and thanksgivings.

46. If a poor man dies, those who provide for each one shall take care of his (burial) clothing.

47. If anyone who is a stranger dies and he has no place where he is to be buried, those who have a place shall give it. But if the church has (a place), it shall give it.

If he has no covering, the church shall give it in like manner. But if he does not have grave clothes, he shall be shrouded.

48. But if a man shall be found who has possessions but an heir is not found and he has not left them to the church, they shall be kept for a time; after a year the church shall not appropriate them but they shall be given to the poor.

But if he desires to be embalmed, the deacons shall take care of this, to do it, as presbyters stand by.

49. If the church has a graveyard [14] and there is a man who stays * p. 47 there and keeps it, the bishop shall take care of him * from the church

[14] Lit. sepulchre.

(treasury), so that, in anything, he shall not burden those who come there.

Concerning the times of prayer

The people shall always take care about the time of dawn, arising and washing their hands; they shall pray immediately. And so each one shall go to the work which he wills.

All shall take care to pray at the third hour with mourning and labor, either in the church or in the house, if they cannot go (to the church). For this is the hour of the fixing [15] of the Only-begotten (Son) on the cross.

But at that hour which is the sixth hour, in like manner, there shall be prayer with sorrow. For then the daylight was divided by the darkness. Therefore there shall be that voice which is like unto that of the prophets, and to creation mourning.

But at the ninth hour also, the prayer shall be extended as though a hymn of praise that is like unto the souls of those who glorify God — who does not lie! — as one who has remembered His sayings and sent His Word and wisdom to enlighten them. For in that hour, life was opened to the believers and blood and water were shed from the side of the Lord [16].

At evening, when it is the beginning of another day, showing an image of the resurrection, He has caused us to praise.

In the midst of the night, they shall arise in a praising and lauding manner because of the resurrection.

At dawn, (they shall arise) in a praising manner with psalms, because, after He rose, He glorified the Father while they were singing psalms.

* But if any one has a consort [17], he shall remove (himself), go and pray at these times without fail [18]. * p. 48

Those who are chaste shall not lessen (them). For (all) the ornaments of heaven — the lights, the sun, the moon, the stars, the lightnings, the thunders, the clouds, the angels, the glories, the dominions, the whole (celestial) army, the depths, the seas, the rivers, the wells, fire, dew, and all nature that produces rain — glorify.

[15] Or: nailing — [16] Cf. John XIX, 34 — [17] Lit. daughter of the fellowship of marriage — [18] Lit. of necessity.

All the saints also glorify and also all the souls of the righteous. These (then) who pray are numbered together in the remembrance of God.

When the believers accomplish these things, teach and admonish one another, causing the catechumens to advance, as loving every man — "you do not perish but shall be in me and I am among you [19]."

50. The faithful shall always take care that, before he eats, he partakes of the eucharist so that he shall be unharmed.

"When you teach these things (and keep) them, you shall be saved and evil heresy shall not subdue you."

"Behold, I have taught you now all these things that you desire; and these things which I have spoken with you from the beginning and have taught and have commanded you before I should suffer, you know."

"And you, especially John — and Andrew and Peter — now you know all the things which I have spoken to you while I am with you, as also that which is in this Testament, in order that when you carry them to the nations the will of my Father becomes always accomplished, and abiding firm in watchful care, so that there may be good fruits in them that obey [20]."

"But you know that as I have spoken with you, a good tree cannot produce evil fruit [21]. (All things), therefore, * that I have commanded you publicly and secretly, do, and the God of tranquillity be with you."

* p. 49

And falling down, we worshipped Him [22], saying : "Glory to Thee, O Jesus, Name of Light, who didst give us the teaching of Thy commandments, so that we shall imitate Thee, and all those who obey [23] Thee."

And as He spoke to us and taught and commanded us and showed many deeds and mighty works [24], He was taken up from us [25], giving us tranquillity.

John wrote this Testament, and Peter and Matthew, and sent it in a copy from Jerusalem by Dositheus and Silas and Magnus and Aquila, whom they chose and sent.

The Testament ends (here).

[19] John XIV, 20 — [20] Lit. hear — [21] Matth. VII, 18 — [22] Cf. Luke XXIV, 52 according to the reading of the Alexandrian and Koine manuscripts — [23] Lit. hear — [24] Cf. Acts II, 22 — [25] Acts I, 9 ff.

(IV)

A COLLECTION OF ALL THE CANONS OF THE HOLY APOSTLES AND THE SYNODS OF THE FATHERS

(There are) gathered together with one another, those which have the same subject and (so) complete one *titlos* [1], so that every *titlos* demonstrates the extent of its documentation [2]. All the canons are found in the fifty and one *titloi*.

1. The first *titlos*. By how many bishops ought a bishop to receive ordination; and that the ordination of a bishop ought not take place without the patriarch. If there is dispute because of the ordination, it is necessary to accept the will of many (bishops). — Of the Apostles, it is the 1st, the 2nd, * of Simon the Canaanite : of Nicaea, it is the 4th and the 6th; of Antioch, it is the 19th. * p. 50

2. The second *titlos*. Concerning the primacy of honor of the towns. Of Nicaea, it is the 6th and the 7th; of the (Synod of) one hundred and fifty bishops, it is the 2nd.

3. The third *titlos*. Of those things that are lawful for all the priestly order to do and what not. And concerning the preeminence of honor of the bishop over against the presbyters, that of the presbyter over against the deacons, and of those over against those under them; and concerning this, that only the priests ought to take the offering from the altar. — Of Simon the Canaanite concerning the ecclesiastical canons; of the Apostles' action they took jointly ordering the same whose beginning is : "First, therefore, according to the nature, the head of the priests is the only-begotten Christ"; of Paul and of Peter whose beginning is : "This we command to you all together"; of the Synod of Laodicea, it is the 19th; of the same, it is the 20th; of the same, it is the 17th; of Nicaea, it is the 18th.

4. The fourth *titlos*. About this, that it is not lawful for a bishop in whatever way to pass beyond the eparchy or (to go to) a church that does not belong to him, he is not to be there and not to perform an ordination in it without the permission of its bishop. — Of the Apostles, it is the 13th and the 14th; of them, also, the 15th and the

[1] τίτλος — [2] Lit. inscription.

34th; of Nicaea, it is the 15th and the 16th; of Antioch, it is the 3rd, the 13th, the 14th, the 16th, the 21st and the 22nd.

5. The fifth *titlos*. Concerning the depositions of excommunications which take place; that a bishop or presbyter or deacon who dares to serve or to communicate, being separated, and concerning those who receive them; and that he ought not to be received by another bishop, but he shall be received either by the synod or by him who excommunicated him, if he is alive; and it shall not be allowed for the
* p. 51 heads of the priests to trouble the ears of the kings. — * Of the Apostles, it is the 11th, the 12th, the 15th, the 27th, and the 31st; of Nicaea, the 5th; of Antioch, it is the 6th, the 11th and the 12th; of Nicaea, the 5th.

6. The sixth *titlos*. Concerning the order of the priesthood, that it is not lawful to become (priests) through property or through wordly authority or through inheritance, but through election of those who are entitled (to do this) and not through the judgment of many. And again, that it shall not be performed in the kinsmanship of the auditors. — Of the Apostles, it is the 28th, the 23rd, the 72nd: of Laodicea, the 4th, the 12th, the 13th; of Antioch, the 23rd.

7. The seventh *titlos*. About this, that if a bishop receives the laying on of hands and (then) excuses himself or if the people excuse (acceptance of) him. — Of the Apostles, it is the 35th; of Ancyra, it is the 17th and the 18th.

8. The eighth *titlos*. Concerning the honor of the metropolitans; and it must be that two times a year the synod shall be gathered; and about this, that the synod is complete whenever it has the metropolitan (present). — Of the Apostles, it is the 33rd and the 36th; of Antioch, the 9th, the 16th, and the 3rd; of Nicaea, it is the 5th.

9. The ninth *titlos*. About the manner in which it is lawful for a bishop who is accused in something to be called by the synods and through certain persons and how many times; and of those regarding whom it is lawful for an accusation to be accepted about him; and that it is not lawful for a heretic to be accepted in the accusation about him. — Of the Apostles, it is the 70th and the 71st; of Laodicea, the 40th; and of the one hundred and fifty (fathers), it is the 4th.

10. The tenth *titlos*. About this, that if a bishop is judged because of some accusation by the synod of the eparchy, (and) if they dispute with one another, they shall approach the bishops of their neighboring eparchy. But, if they do not dispute, except those of another eparchy,

the sentence on him shall be firm, not being investigated by others. — Of Antioch, it is the 14th and 15th.

* 11. The eleventh *titlos*. About this, that it is lawful for bishops to * p. 52 have authority over all the property of the church. Those which are of the bishop and those of the church shall be made known. — Of the Apostles, it is the 37th, 39th and 40th; of Ancyra, it is the 8th; of Antioch, it is the 24th and the 25th.

12. The twelfth *titlos*. About this, that it is not lawful for a bishop or a presbyter or a deacon that he throw himself into wordly cares or to serve in the military or to receive sureties. — Of the Apostles, it is the 6th, the 19th, the 70th, the 79th and the 16th.

13. The thirteenth *titlos*. About this, that it is not lawful for the priests to receive usury. — Of the Apostles, it is the 43rd; of Nicaea, it is the 27th; of Laodicea, the 5th.

14. The fourteenth *titlos*. About this, that it is not lawful for a bishop or a presbyter or a deacon or, indeed, anyone who is in an ecclesiastical order to be engaged in the shows of the theater or games, in drunkenness or fornication or falsehood or theft or taverns or to live with concubines. Also, not anyone of the believers. — Of the Apostles, it is the 24th, the 41st, the 42nd, the 50th, the 68th, the 79th; of Nicaea, the 9th, the 3rd; of Laodicea, it is the 24th, the 55th; of Ancyra, it is the 18th.

15. The fifteenth *titlos*. About this, that it is not lawful for a presbyter who is neglecting his bishop to fix the altar and to despise the assemblies of the church and the commemorations of the martyrs; and concerning those who tear asunder (the fellowship) and do not participate in the sacrifices. — Of the Apostles, it is the 8th, the 9th, the 34th; of Gangra, it is the 5th, the 6th and the 20th; of Antioch, it is the 2nd and the 5th.

16. The sixteenth *titlos*. About this, that it is not lawful for a bishop or a presbyter to despise the clergy or the people or clerics who are in want. — Of the Apostles, it is the 54th and the 55th.

17. The seventeenth *titlos*. About this, that it is not lawful for a cleric to abuse a bishop or a presbyter or a deacon or the kings * or the * p. 53 rulers, or to mock those who have defects on them. — Of the Apostles, it is the 51st, the 52nd, the 53rd and the 80th.

18. The eighteenth *titlos*. About this, that it is not lawful for a bishop or a presbyter or a deacon to strike a male believer or a female believer. — Of the Apostles, it is the 26th and the 62nd.

19. The nineteenth *titlos*. About this, how many years must a presbyter be (in age for eligibility); and concerning the number of the deacons and concerning the institution of the subdeacons, the *qārūyē* [3], chanters [4] and the deaconesses, and of those called the presbytesses. — Of Neocaesarea, it is the 11th and the 14th; of Laodicea, it is the 11th, the 21st, the 22nd, the 23rd, the 25th, the 26th, the 43rd and the 44th.

20. The twentieth *titlos*. About this, that it is not lawful for a cleric of anyone of the orders of the church to do anything without the permission of his bishop or to go on a journey. — Of the Apostles, it is the 38th; of Laodicea, it is the 42nd.

21. The twenty-first *titlos*. About this, that it is not lawful for anyone of the order of the church to go on a journey or to be received without the canonical letters or *sūsṭāṭīqā* [5]. — Of the Apostles, it is the 32nd; of Antioch, it is the 7th.

22. The twenty-second *titlos*. Concerning the chorepiscopoi or the periodeuts. — Of Ancyra, it is the 12th; of Neocaesarea, it is the 13th; of Antioch, it is the 8th and the 24th; of Laodicea, the 26th and the 57th.

23. The twenty-third *titlos*. About this, that it is unlawful for spurious books or feigned psalms to be read as sacred or to be sung in the church; and people shall not ascend the *bema*, except for those who are set apart for this. — Of the Apostles, it is the 56th; of Laodicea, the 55th and the 59th.

24. The twenty-fourth *titlos*. Concerning the order of the service of psalmody and concerning the times of prayer. — Of Laodicea, it is the 57th and the 58th; the commandment of Paul the Apostle whose
* p. 54 beginning * is: "Every male believer and female believer — when they rise in the morning"; of the same, concerning the times of prayers.

25. The twenty-fifth *titlos*. About this, that it is not lawful to bring anything else to the altar except bread and wine; and that the sacrifice shall not be offered on this on Sabbath days and that the remnants of the sacrifice shall not be sent to another country in the form of blessings. — Of the Apostles, it is the 3rd; of Laodicea, the 14th, the 58th; of Matthew the Apostle concerning the leavings of the sacrifices.

[3] Readers — [4] *ψάλτης* — [5] *συστατικός*.

26. The twenty-sixth *titlos*. Concerning the income and first fruits. — Of the Apostles, it is the 4th; of Matthew the Apostle whose beginning is: "I, Matthew, command you"; of Gangra, it is the 7th and the 8th.

27. The twenty-seventh *titlos*. On this, that it is lawful to honor the holy day of the first day of the week and not to fast on it, and not on Saturday; and these are (those things) which are commanded concerning the day of the Saturday; and that it is not lawful to kneel on the first day of the week and not on Pentecost. — Of the Apostles, it is the 60th; of Gangra, the 18th; of Laodicea, the 16th and the 29th; of Nicaea, the 20th.

28. The twenty-eighth *titlos*. About this, that it is lawful for every Christian to fast during the holy fast of the forty (days), and on Friday, and on the fourth day of the week. — Of the Apostles, it is the 65th; of Gangra, the 19th; of Laodicea, the 50th.

29. The twenty-ninth *titlos*. About this, that it is not lawful to offer the sacrifice during the holy fast of the forty (days), except only on the Sabbath and the first day of the week, or to perform the marriage feasts or commemorations of birthdays. — Of Laodicea, it is the 49th, the 51st and the 52nd.

30. The thirtieth *titlos*. Concerning the mysteries of baptism and concerning those who for the first time are being brought to the mysteries. — Of Neocaesarea, it is the 6th, the 12th; of Laodicea, the 45th, the 46th, the 47th, the 48th. Of the Apostles, whose beginning is, "If any bishop or presbyter does not baptize according to the commandments of our Lord"; again, of those whose beginning is: "If any bishop or presbyter shall not baptize thrice [6]"; * again, of them whose beginning is: "Therefore, you shall teach him who is being baptized"; again of Paul the Apostle, the commandments concerning those who for the first time are being brought to the mysteries. * p. 55

31. The thirty-first *titlos*. About this, that it is not lawful for those recently baptized to be brought to the ecclesiastical order. — Of the Apostles, it is the 67th; of Nicaea, the 2nd; of Laodicea, the 3rd.

32. The thirty-second *titlos*. About this, that it is not lawful to perform the feast of the holy Pascha before the equinox; and that no one shall participate or enter the synagogue of the Jews or the (assemblies) of the pagans or of the heretics; and that the believers

[6] Or: triunely.

shall not mingle with them in prayers or give their sons to them for marriage. — Of the Apostles, it is the 7th, the 8th, the 44th, the 61st, the 66th, the 67th; of Peter and Paul, the Apostles, whose beginning is: "If it is not possible that they enter the church because of the non-believers"; of Antioch, it is the 1st; of Laodicea, the 6th, the 9th, the 20th, the 29th, the 31st, the 32nd, the 33rd, the 34th, the 35th, the 37th, the 38th, the 39th.

33. The thirty-third *titlos*. Concerning the ordination, baptism and the sacrifice of the heretics and that it is lawful that one shall anathematize the heretics. — Of the Apostles, it is the 44th and the 64th; of Nicaea, the 8th, the 19th; of Laodicea, the 7th, the 8th; of the One-hundred-and-fifty (fathers), it is the 1st and the 3rd.

34. The thirty-fourth *titlos*. About this, that it is not lawful to take portions of the food from the agapes or to despise the agapes which are for the poor, or to make banquets in the church or to make drinking parties or to dance on the marriage feast or to bathe together with women. — Of Laodicea, it is the 27th, the 28th, the 30th, the 33rd, the 54th, the 55th; of Gangra.

35. The thirty-fifth *titlos*. Regarding these which hinder one to become a priest and regarding the defects which do not hinder one to become (a priest); and concerning those who castrate themselves and regarding those who have been castrated by others; and concern-
* p. 56 ing those who are possessed by demons. — * Of the Apostles, it is the 16th, the 17th, the 18th, the 20th, the 21st, the 22nd, the 23rd, the 74th, the 75th; of Paul the Apostle whose beginning is: "If a man has a demon of trial", it is the 1st; of Neocaesarea, the 8th, the 12th.

36. The thirty-sixth *titlos*. Regarding those for whom it is lawful to marry if they wish and regarding those for whom it is not. — Of the Apostles it is the 25th; of Ancyra the 9th; of Neocaesarea the 1st.

37. The thirty-seventh *titlos*. About this, that it is not lawful for the priests to send away their wives for the cause of chastity; and that under the anathema are those who despise marriage or meat or wine or who eat meat together with the blood of its life. — Of the Apostles, it is the 5th, the 47th, the 49th, the 59th; of Gangra, the 1st, the 2nd, the 4th, the 9th, the 20th, the 24th; of Ancyra, the 13th.

38. The thirty-eighth *titlos*. About this, that it is not lawful for

the slaves to be ranked in the clergy without the consent [7] of their masters and that they shall not rebel on account of Christianity. — Of the Apostles, it is the 78th; of Paul the Apostle whose beginning is: "But their way and conversation shall be investigated accurately"; of Gangra, it is the 3rd.

39. The thirty-ninth *titlos*. Concerning the cessation from (work) by the slaves. — The commandment of Paul the Apostle whose beginning is: "A male believer or female believer"; again of Paul and of Peter, the Apostles, the commandment that the slave shall cease (from work).

40. The fortieth *titlos*. Concerning the days of the departed; regarding those for whom it is lawful that they shall be performed and those for which the clerics shall be called for their commemorations. — Of Paul the Apostle whose beginning is: "But the third day of those who have fallen asleep shall be performed ..."

41. The forty-first *titlos*. Regarding those who — in their pride — because of the supposed fear of God despise the garment of custom, (thereby) despising women. — Of Gangra, it is the 12th and the 13th.

42. The forty-second *titlos*. Concerning those who under pretense * of asceticism despise their sons or children — Of Gangra, it is the 15th and the 16th. * p. 57

43. The forty-third *titlos*. Concerning those who forsake during the times of persecutions or do something of heathenism; and regarding this, that it is right that those who are persecuted, because of piety, shall deserve assistance and rest. — Of the Apostles, it is the 58th; from Paul the Apostle, there is set down that which concerns those who are persecuted because of faith; of Nicaea, it is the 11th; of Ancyra, it is the 1st, the 2nd, the 3rd, the 4th, the 5th, the 6th, the 7th, the 8th, the 11th.

44. The forty-fourth *titlos*. About this, that it is lawful to receive those who sin and repent afterwards. — Of the Apostles, it is the 48th; of Laodicea, the 2nd; of Nicaea, the 8th, the 13th.

45. The forty-fifth *titlos*. Concerning the transgression of the law by (those) marrying the second time and by the polygamists. — Of the Apostles, it is the 8th; of Laodicea, the 1st; of Neocaesarea, the 3rd, the 7th.

46. The forty-sixth *titlos*. Concerning those who leave their wives

[7] Lit. will.

and enter others, or the deserted ones; and concerning those who are women committing adultery or who commit adultery or take two sisters or become (wives) for two brothers. — Of the Apostles, it is the 46th, the 58th; of Ancyra, it is the 19th; of Neocaesarea, the 2nd, the 4th, the 5th, the 8th.

47. The forty-seventh *titlos*. Concerning those who set themselves apart for God and return again to the world. — Of Nicaea, it is the 12th; of Ancyra, the 18th.

48. The forty-eighth *titlos*. Concerning those who take virgins by force and corrupt them. — Of the Apostles, the 63rd; of Ancyra, the 17th, the 24th.

49. The forty-ninth *titlos*. Concerning those who fornicate with animals and sleep with a male. — Of Ancyra, it is the 15th and the 16th.

50. The fiftieth *titlos*. Concerning those who have dealings with diviners, charmers, and amulets. — Of Ancyra, the 23rd; of Laodicea, the 36th.

* p. 58. * 51. The fifty-first *titlos*. Concerning those who kill willfully or not willfully; and concerning those who conceive by fornication and kill their embryos. — Of the Apostles, it is the 62nd; of Ancyra, the 20th, the 21st, the 22nd.

Here end the fifty-one *titloi*.

[V]

THE ECCLESIASTICAL CANONS OF THE HOLY APOSTLES AND OF SYNODS OF THE FATHERS WHICH WERE GATHERED NOW AND THEN

1. The ordination of a bishop thus must take place though two or three bishops.

2. A presbyter by one bishop, and (also) a deacon, and the rest of the clergy.

3. If anyone, whether a bishop or presbyter, beyond the law of our Lord about the sacrifice, shall offer other things on the altar,

Immediately after the title of the canons the scribe added the words : O our Lord, strengthen and help me !

whether honey, milk, or strong drink instead of wine, (even) things which are essential, or birds or some animals, or a sacrifice beyond the commandment, except grains of new corn or bunches of grapes in their season, he shall be deposed for a period that is right. It shall not be lawful to offer something (besides that specified) on the altar, and oil for the sacred lamp and incense in the time of the offering.

4. All other fruits shall be sent as first fruits to the house of the bishop and to the presbyters but not to the altar. However, it is manifest that the bishop and presbyters are to distribute them to the deacons and the rest of the clergy.

5. A bishop, or a presbyter or a deacon * shall not cast off his wife * p. 59 on the pretext of chastity; but if he does cast her off, he shall be suspended. Further, if he abides by his intention, his deposition shall take place.

6. A bishop or a presbyter or a deacon shall not undertake wordly managements; if he does so undertake, his deposition shall take place.

7. If any bishop or presbyter or deacon shall perform the holy day of the Pascha [1] before the equinox with the Jews, his deposition shall take place.

8. If a bishop or a presbyter or a deacon or anyone of the rank of the priestly order, when there is the consecration and the congregation (is present), does not partake in the mysteries, he shall give the reason; and if it is worthy, it shall be forgiven him; but if he does not give it, he shall be suspended since he has become a cause of damage to the people and of raising a suspicion against him that he offered as one who did not rightly offer.

9. For all believers who enter (the church) and hear the (sacred) books, but who do not stay for prayer and the reception of the offering it is right that they be suspended for causing disorder in the church.

10. If anyone, even in the house, prays with a person having no fellowship in the mysteries, he shall be suspended.

11. If any clergyman prays with one once in the clergy, but since then deposed, (yet) as with a clergyman, his deposition shall take place.

12. If any clergyman or layman, who is suspended or who cannot be received, goes away to another town and is received (in that other town) without letters of commendation [2], both those who received him and those who were received shall be suspended. But if he has

[1] πάσχα — [2] ܣܘܢܛܐܛܝܩܘܢ, συστατικός

already been suspended, his suspension as a liar and deceiver of the church of God shall be lengthened.

13. It is unlawful for a bishop to leave his own parish and jump to another although many should compel him, unless there be some worthy reason compelling him to do so, such as this that he may bring much
* p. 60 greater profit * to those (people) there via the word of the fear of God. This, however, is not to be (decided) by himself, but by the calling of many bishops and by great supplication.

14. If any presbyter or deacon or anyone of the order on the roster of the clergy leaves his place and goes to another and, entirely removing himself, dwells in the other place without the agreement of his own bishop, we command that he shall no longer serve. Especially so, if his bishop calls upon him to return and he does not obey but continues in his disobedience.

Moreover, he shall communicate with those there only as a layman.

15. But if the bishop with whom they are thinks nothing of the excommunication decreed against them and receives them as clergymen, he shall be suspended as (spreading) teaching of disorder.

16. He who has been twice married after (his) baptism or who has had a concubine cannot be made a bishop or presbyter or deacon or indeed any of the sacerdotal order.

17. He who has taken a widow or an abandoned woman or a harlot or a slave maiden or one belonging to the stage cannot be made either a bishop or a presbyter or deacon or indeed any of the sacerdotal order.

18. He who has married two sisters or his sister's daughter cannot become a clergyman.

19. A clergyman, who gives surety — his deposition shall take place.

20. A eunuch, if he has become so by the force of men or whose sexual parts were removed in the persecution or who was born so and deserves to become a bishop, he shall be made (bishop).

21. He who has castrated himself shall not become a clergyman, for he is a self-murderer and an enemy of the creation of God.

22. If anyone who is a cleric mutilates himself, his deposition shall take place, for he is a murderer under God.

* p. 61 * 23. A layman who mutilates himself shall be suspended for three years for he has (employed) a harmful strategem [3] against his (own) life.

[3] ܡܟܢܐ, μηχανή.

24. A bishop or presbyter or deacon who is caught in fornication or perjury or stealing shall be deposed — not suspended; for the Scripture says: "The Lord does not rise twice on it" [4]. In like manner, too, for the rest of the clerics.

25. Of those who come into the clergy unmarried, we command only the readers and singers [5], if they want to marry, to marry (afterward).

26. We command that the bishop or presbyter or deacon who strikes the believers who sin or the unbelievers who do wrong, and who wants to frighten them by these means shall be deposed; for in no place has the Lord taught us this; indeed, the very contrary — "When He Himself was stricken, He did not strike again, and when He was reviled He did not revile again, and when He suffered, He did not threaten" [6].

27. If any bishop or presbyter or deacon whose deposition has taken place justly for manifest blames dares to meddle with the ministry which previously was entrusted to him, this (person) shall be entirely cut off from the church.

28. If any bishop obtains this degree by gifts, or a presbyter or a deacon, his deposition shall take place; and (also) the person that ordained him; he shall be entirely cut off from the communion as Simon Magus was by me, Peter [7].

29. If any bishop through the worldly rulers — making use of their means — obtains a church, his deposition shall take place and he shall be suspended and (so, too,) all that communicate with him.

30. If any presbyter despises his own bishop and * assembles (people) separately and fixes another altar, should his bishop not be blameworthy in anything either as to piety or righteousness, his deposition shall take place as of one who likes rulership. For he is a rebel and those others and the rest of the clergy who join themselves to him. But the laymen shall be suspended. These things, however, shall be done after one and the second or (even) a third persuasion from the bishop. * p. 62

31. If any presbyter or deacon has been suspended by his bishop, it is not lawful that he be received by others, but by him who suspended him, unless it happens that the bishop who suspended him dies.

32. Not one of the strange bishops or presbyters or deacons shall be received without letters of commendation [8]; and when they bring

[4] Nah. I, 9 — [5] ܡܙܡܪܐ, ψάλτης — [6] I Peter, II, 23 — [7] Acts VIII, 18 ff. — [8] συστατικός.

them, they shall be received. If they, indeed, are preachers of piety, they shall be received (as such). But if not, supply their wants, but do not receive them to communion — for many things are done haphazardly.

33. For the bishops of every people, it is right to know who is first among them and to count him as the head and not to do something greater without his consent. But everyone of them shall manage only those (affairs) that belong to his own eparchy and the places under it. But he shall not do anything without the consent of all; for so does unanimity take place and God be glorified.

34. A bishop must not dare to confer an ordination beyond his own bounds, in towns or countries that are not subject to him. Further, if he is convicted of having done so without the consent of those who rule those towns or countries, his deposition shall take place and also those whom he has ordained.

35. If any bishop that is ordained does not undertake his office
* p. 63 nor take care of the people entrusted * to him, he shall be suspended until he undertakes it. And in like manner, a presbyter and a deacon. But if he does and is not received, not because of his consent but because of the hardness of the people, he, indeed, shall remain bishop. But the clergy of the town shall be suspended because they have not been apt to teach disobedient people such as these.

36. A synod of bishops shall be held twice in the year; then let them ask one another of the doctrines of piety; and they shall resolve the ecclesiastical disputes that happen. The first time in the fourth week of Pentecost, the second time on the twelfth of *Tešrī qadīm* [9].

37. The bishop shall see to the management of all ecclesiastical affairs and shall manage them as one in the presence of God. Further, it is not lawful for him to appropriate something of them for himself or to bestow things, which belong to God, to his own relatives. But if they are poor, they shall be supported (as the poor are); but these things of the church shall not be consumed under the pretense (of the relatives).

38. The presbyters and deacons shall do nothing without the consent of the bishop for it is he who is entrusted with the people of the Lord and is required to give account for their souls.

39. The proper goods of the bishop, if he has any, shall be known and those belonging to the Lord; he shall have authority over those

[9] October.

which are his and when the bishop dies, he may leave those as he wishes in inheritance so that under cover of the ecclesiastical matters the bishop's own may not suffer.

For it may happen, perhaps, that he has a wife and children or relatives or servants. For it is just that before God and men neither shall the church suffer some loss by not knowing which goods are the bishop's (own) and which are not his, nor shall his relatives under cover of the church be despoiled nor shall those, who rightly have a claim upon him, fall into (legal) actions and so turn his death in a blasphemy.

* 40. We command that the bishop shall have power over all the goods of the church. For if he is entrusted with the precious souls of men, how much more ought he to take care of the goods that everything will be managed according to his authority, so that by presbyters and deacons they may be given to the needy with the fear of God and with all chastity. He also shall take what is needed, those for his urgent necessities and those for strange brothers that no one of them may by any means suffer in want. The law of God, indeed, has commanded that those who continue (the service) at the altar should be supported from the altar; since also a soldier does not furnish his arms for the war from his own wages. * p. 64

<41.> A bishop or presbyter or deacon who (indulges) in dice (-playing) or drinking shall either cease and stay away from these (practices) or his deposition shall take place.

<42.> If a subdeacon or reader or a singer[10] does like these (things), either he shall cease or shall be excommunicated; likewise, also, a layman.

43. A bishop or a presbyter or a deacon who demands usury from those who borrow from him shall either cease or his deposition shall take place.

44. A bishop or presbyter or deacon who only prays with heretics shall be suspended; but, if he also permits them to act as clergymen his deposition shall take place.

45. A bishop or presbyter or deacon who receives baptism from the heretics or the sacrifice — we command that the deposition shall take place; "For what concord is there for Christ with Satan or what part has a believer with a non-believer?"[11]

[10] ψάλτης — [11] II Cor. VI, 5.

* p. 65 46. If a bishop or presbyter shall baptize anew one * who has the baptism in truth or if he shall not baptize him who is defiled by the impious ones, his deposition shall take place as one who is mocking the cross and the death of our Lord and who shows no discrimination between the priests and the false priests.

If a bishop or presbyter shall not baptize in the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit according to the commandment [12] of our Lord, but into three (beings) who have no beginning, or into three Sons or into three Paracletes, his deposition shall take place.

If a bishop or presbyter shall not perform the baptism three times at the one initiation into the mysteries, but one time only that is given in the death of our Lord, his deposition shall take place. For our Lord has not said, "Baptize into my death", but, "Go, teach all the nations baptizing him in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit" [13].

He who is baptized shall be taught that the Father is not the offspring, was not crucified, also did not endure being born of man as He did not need to be conceived and also (did not need) the will of another nor is He subject to abandonment. But also that the Paraclete did not become man nor come after this manner nor also endure suffering for He did not become flesh, for He was not the high priest. But the only-begotten Son alone became man because of the love of mankind. He, however, former for Himself a body from a virgin, for "Wisdom built a house for herself as an architect" [13]. But He endured the cross as an image by the permission of the Father. He then as the high priest rescued the people from the wrath, which was expected (to arrive).

Therefore we baptize "in the name of the Father", not as one who became man nor as one who suffered and not as a high priest, but as the authority consented the birth, permitted suffering and to accept the intercession of the high priest. "In the name of the Son", not the
* p. 66 authority, but as one who endured birth * and endured the cross, as one who died and rose. "In the name of the Paraclete", however, and not as the Father and not as the Son, but as the witness of the will of God and of His forgiveness, and of His equality in honour to the Son in everything.

[12] Matth. xxviii, 19 — [13] Prov. ix, 1.

But those who do not baptize in this way — as those who do not know the mystery of piety — their deposition shall take place.

He who says that the Father has suffered is more impious than the Jews who together with Christ, fasten with nails also the Father. And he who denies our Lord, (namely), that he became man for the sake of us and endured the cross, fights against God and makes war against the saints.

He who thinks of the Paraclete that he is the Father or the Son is without knowledge.

He who glorifies two (creators) without beginning or two Fathers has not heard what the Lord says, "The Lord Thy God is one" [14].

These things Simon Magus brought forth against us when the evil and perfidious spirit which was in him was leading astray all the people. He talkes foolishly saying that the one God (merely) has a triple name and he cut out the birth of Christ and His passion.

But you, o bishops, give baptism in one Father and Son and Holy Spirit according to the will of God and our own commandment which is in the (Holy) Spirit.

47. If any bishop or presbyter or deacon, indeed, anyone who is counted in the sacerdotal number, abstains from marrying, flesh and wine not because of fasting but because of the impurity (of them), forgetting that, "everything was very good" [15] and that, "God made man male and female", [16] but blasphemously mocks His works (in creation), he shall either amend (himself) or his deposition shall take place.

In like manner, also, a layman.

48. If a layman deserting his wife takes another or a woman who has been left by another, he shall be excommunicated.

* 49. If any bishop or presbyter does not receive him who returns from sin but despises him, his deposition shall take place. He annoys Christ who has said. "There is joy in heaven over one sinner who repents" [17]. * p. 67

49a. A bishop or a presbyter or a deacon who on the days of the festivals does not eat flesh and does not drink wine his deposition shall take place as one "having a seared conscience" [18] thus becoming a cause of scandal to many.

[14] Deut. VI, 4 — [15] Gen. I, 31 — [16] Gen. I, 26 — [17] Luke XV, 7 — [18] I Tim. IV, 2.

49b. If any cleric be found eating in a tavern, he shall be suspended, unless he halts, due to necessity on the road.

50. Every cleric who abuses the bishop without justification — his deposition shall take place. For, "You shall not speak wickedly of the ruler of your people" [19].

51. A cleric who abuses a presbyter or a deacon shall be suspended.

52. Every cleric who mocks a deaf-mute or a cripple or a lame or a maimed to his face shall be suspended. In like manner, also, a layman.

53. A bishop or presbyter who neglects the clergy or the people and does not walk in the fear of God shall be suspended. If he, moreover, remains in negligence, his deposition shall take place.

54. If a bishop or a presbyter should one of the clergy be in want, does not fulfill his need, he shall be suspended. If he continues (in it), his deposition shall take place, as of one who kills his brother.

55. If anyone displays in the church those spurious books of the impious ones as sacred books to the harm of the people and the clergy — his deposition shall take place.

56. If there shall be any accusation against a believer, (such as) fornication or adultery or one of those actions which are despised and he is convicted, he shall not be promoted into the clergy.

57. If any cleric, because of the fear of man or of the Jews or of the
* p. 68 heathen or the heretics, denies the * name of Christ, he shall be suspended. But, if (he denies) the name of the clergy, his deposition shall take place. However, if he repents, he shall be received as a layman.

58. Every bishop or presbyter or deacon or, indeed, everyone who is reckoned among the priestly number, eats flesh with the blood of its life or of what is torn by the beasts or what has died — his deposition shall take place. For this the Law [20] does not allow [21]. But if he is a layman, he shall be suspended.

59. Every cleric who is found to fast on the day of Sunday or Saturday, except for one (lapse) only — his deposition shall take place. If he is a layman, he shall be suspended.

60. If any cleric or layman enters into a synagogue of the Jews or (the temple) of the heretics in order to pray there, his deposition shall take place.

61. If any cleric strikes a man in a quarrel and he dies from that blow, his deposition shall take place because of (his) audacity. But, if he is a layman, he shall be suspended.

[19] Exod. XXII, 28 — [20] Gen. IX; Lev. XVII — [21] Lit. say.

62. If anyone shall take a virgin who is not betrothed by force, he shall be suspended. It is not lawful for him to take another; rather shall he keep her whom he has desired, although she be poor.

63. If any bishop or presbyter or deacon shall receive two ordinations from anyone, his deposition shall take place and (that of) the person who performed the ordination, unless he demonstrates that the (first) ordination which he had was from the heretics.

64. They who have been baptized by them or they who have received an ordination by such as those can neither be believers not clergymen.

65. If any bishop or presbyter or deacon or subdeacon or reader or singer does not fast the holy fast of forty (days) or on Friday or the fourth day * of the week, his deposition shall take place, except he be hindered by weakness of body. If he is a layman, he shall be suspended. * p. 69

66. If any bishop, or any other cleric, fasts with the Jews or celebrates with them or accepts presents of their festivals such as unleavened bread or something like that, his deposition shall take place. If, however, he is a layman, he shall be suspended.

67. If any Christian carries oil or a lamp into the temples of the pagans or into the synagogue of the Jews, he shall be suspended.

68. If a cleric or layman takes away from the church a wax candle or (a cruse of) oil, he shall be suspended. He shall add the fifth part to that which he took away (in returning the stolen goods).

69. A vessel of silver or gold or cloth which is sanctified, no one shall appropriate to his own use, for it is a transgression of the law. If anyone is seen doing so, he shall receive punishment and be suspended.

70. If a bishop is accused of something by the believers and (persons) who deserve trust, it is necessary that he shall be cited by the bishops. If he comes and testifies and nevertheless is convicted, his punishment shall be determined. But, if when he is cited he does not obey, he shall be cited a second time by two bishops sent to him. But, if even then he does not obey, he shall be called the third time when two bishops are again sent to him. But, if even then he despises (them) and will not come, the synod shall decree about this in whatever way it pleases; he shall not hope to gain an advantage by avoiding (their judgment).

71. The testimony of a heretic against the bishop shall not be accepted, nor that of a Christian if he is alone, for the Law has said: "In the mouth of two and three, every word shall be established" [aa].

[aa] Deut. xix, 15.

72. It is unlawful for the bishop to make an ordination by bestowing the degree of episcopacy on his brother or his son or any other kinsman
* p. 70 * or on whom he pleases. For it is not lawful to create heirs to the episcopacy and to bestow human affection in matters which are divine. Moreover, it is not lawful for the church of Christ to be put under the (laws of) inheritance. But if anyone shall do so, his ordination shall be invalid and he shall receive punishment with suspension.

73. If anyone is injured, whether in his eye or leg, but is worthy, he shall become a bishop; for it is not a defect of the body that can defile him, but the defilement of the soul.

74. But the deaf-mute and a blind one shall not become a bishop, not (on the grounds of) being a defiled person, but in order that the ecclesiastical (affairs) shall not be hindered.

75. If anyone has a demon, he shall not become a cleric. He, also, shall not pray with the faithful. But when he is cleansed, he shall be received, and if he is worthy he may (then) become (a cleric).

76. It is unlawful for one who has just come from heathenism and who has been baptized or (received into the church) from a wicked life to consecrate immediately a bishop, for it is unjust that he who has not yet borne any trial should be a teacher of others, but if this happens by divine grace, this shall be.

77. We have said that it is not lawful for a bishop to let himself (become involved) in public administrations, but he shall be occupied with ecclesiastical necessities. If not, he shall cease from the episcopacy, for, "No one can serve two masters", according to the dominical commandmant.

78. We do not permit slaves to be ordained into the clergy without their masters' consent; this would be a grief unto those who own them. For it would occasion the subversion of families. But, if a slave appears worthy for the degree of ordination such as our Onesimus [24] appeared to us, and if his masters free him and dismiss him from their house, he shall become (a cleric).

79. A bishop or presbyter or deacon who serves in the military and
* p. 71 wants to keep both * the rule of the military and the sacerdotal administrations — it is lawful that his deposition shall take place; for, "The things of Caesar belong to Caesar and the things of God to God" [25].

[23] Matth. VI, 24 — [24] Cf. Philem. 10 ff. — [25] Matth. XXII, 21.

80. Everyone who despises the kings or governors beyond that which is right shall receive punishment. Also, if he is a clergyman, his deposition shall take place. But, if he is a layman, he shall be suspended.

81. The following books shall be (esteemed) adorable and holy for all of you, the clerics and lay people. Of the Old Testament : Of Moses — the five (books); of Joshua the son of Nun — one; of the Judges — one; of Ruth — one; of Judith — one; of the Kingdoms — four; of the Chronicles — two; of Ezra — two; of Esther — one; of Tobith — one; of the Maccabees — three; of Job — one; the book of hundred fifty Psalms — one; of Solomon — five books; sixteen prophets. Besides these let it be indicated to you for the instruction of the young people the wisdom of the very learned Sirach — one.

But our (sacred books) of the New Testament are : the Gospels, namely four as we have previously said, of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John; of Paul — the fourteen letters; of Peter — two letters; of John — three letters; of James — one letter; of Jude — one letter.

Of Clement — two letters; these which have been constituted to you, the bishops, by me, Clement, which are in eight books [26]; it is not right for them to be made manifest before everybody because of the mysteries (contained) in them.

And the Acts of us, the apostles.

Let these canons be established by us for you, you bishops; and if you continue in them, you shall be safe and shall have peace; but if you are disobedient, you shall be tormented and shall have everlasting war, * one with another and a judgment suitable to your disobedience. * p. 72

Now God, who alone is unbegotten and the creator of all in Christ, strengthen you all through the peace and in the Holy Spirit, and prepare you unto every good work, unchangeable and unblameable and unreprovable and He shall make you worthy for eternal life through the mediation of the beloved Son Jesus Christ, God and Savior through whom glory be to Him, who is God over all and the Father with the Holy Spirit, even forever and ever. Amen. Amen.

Here end the ecclesiastical canons of the holy apostles which are eighty-one in number.

[26] See page 27 ff.

[VI]

THE ORDER OF THE APOSTLES THROUGH HIPPOLYTUS SIMON THE CANAANITE CONCERNING THE ECCLESIASTICAL CANONS

Also I, Simon the Canaanite, command you (about the manner in) which it is lawful for the laying on of hands to be (conducted).

A bishop shall receive ordination by two or three bishops. If anyone has ordination from one bishop (only), his deposition shall take place, and (also the deposition) of him who made the ordination. If, (however), because of necessity, he receives the laying on of hands from one, because it is not possible that more (bishops) can come (together) as there is persecution or another cause, he shall bring a writing and a permission of agreement from other bishops.

A bishop blesses, but does not receive blessing. He confers ordination. He offers (the sacrifice). He receives the blessing from a bishop, but
* p. 73 * by no means from presbyters. A bishop makes the deposition of every clergyman who deserves deposition, with the exception of a bishop, for (that), by himself, he cannot (do).

A presbyter blesses, but does not receive blessing. He, (however), does receive the blessing from a bishop and from a fellow presbyter. In like manner does he give it to his fellow presbyters. He lays on hands, but does not make ordination. He does not make deposition. He, however, excommunicates those who are under him [1], if they are liable to a punishment like this.

A deacon does not bless. He does not give the blessing, but receives it from the bishop and presbyters. He does not baptize. He does not offer (the sacrifice). However, when a bishop or presbyter has offered, he gives (the eucharist) to the people — not as a priest, but as a servant of the priests. It is not permitted to those who are other clerics to do the works of the deacons.

A deaconess does not bless. It is not right (for her) to do anything that the presbyters do. She shall keep the doors. She shall minister to the presbyters when they baptize women, for the sake of decency.

[1] Lit. after him.

A deacon excommunicates a subdeacon, a *qārūyā* [2], a singer [3], a deaconess, if something like this is (necessary), when the presbyter is not present.

It is not allowed for a subdeacon to excommunicate.

(Also) not for readers or singers nor for a deaconess.

Nor for a clergyman nor lay people, for they are the servants of the deacons.

Concerning the first fruits and the tenth

I, Mattā, command concerning the first fruits and the tenth.

All first fruit shall be brought to the bishop and the presbyters and to the deacons for their nourishment.

All the tenth shall be brought for the nourishment of those of the rest — * the clerics, the virgins and the widows, and those who are in poverty. * p. 74

Those first fruits, however, belong to the priests and to those who serve them.

The same one has said concerning the remains

(As to) the eulogiae which remain from the mysteries, the deacons shall distribute them to the clergy according to the will of the bishop or the presbyters : four parts to the bishop, three parts to the presbyter, two parts to the deacon, but one part to these others, (namely) subdeacons or readers, psalmists or singers or deaconesses.

For it is good and acceptable before God that everyone shall be honored according to his rank. For the church is not lawlessness but orderliness, a school master.

The commandments of Paul the apostle

Every believing man or believing woman, when they rise from sleep in the morning, before they begin [4] the work, when they have washed themselves, they shall pray.

If there is a word of exhortation, he shall prefer the word of piety more than the work.

[2] Reader — [3] *ψάλτης* — [4] Lit. shall work.

A believing woman or believing man shall consider their servants peacefully so as we have also commanded in the foregoing and have taught in the letters.

Concerning the cessation from work by slaves the commandments of Paul and Peter

The slaves shall cease (from work) in every week on two days, on the Sabbath day, on the first day of the week. They shall be constant in attendance at the church.

* p. 75 * I, Paul and Peter, we command : the slaves shall work five days, but on the Sabbath day and on the first day of the week they shall be constant in attendance at the church for instruction in piety. For we have said that the Sabbath is on the account of creation [5], but the first day of the week (is on account) of the resurrection [6].

The slaves shall cease from work the entire great week and that which follows it — the first (for the memory) of the Passion [7] and the other of the resurrection [8]. For instruction is needed as to who He is who suffered and rose again.

On the day of the Ascension, they shall cease (from work) and (at the Pentecost) because of the coming of the Holy Spirit that was bestowed upon those who believed in Christ [9].

They shall cease (from work) on the festival of the birth (of Christ), because, on it, the grace which was unexpected was given to men, (namely) that Jesus Christ, the Word of God, was born from the Virgin Mary [10] for the redemption of the world.

They shall cease (from work) on the festival of Epiphany, because, on it, the manifestation of the divinity of Christ took place when the Father bore witness to Him in the baptism and by the Paraclete in the form of a dove who was made manifest to those who were standing by [11].

They shall cease (from work) on the days of the Apostles for they are your teachers in Christ and made you worthy for the holy day.

[5] Gen. II, 1-3 — [6] Mark XVI, 2 ff. and parall. — [7] Mark XIV, 1 ff. and parall. — [8] Mark XVI, 1 ff. and parall. — [9] Acts II, 1 ff. — [10] Cf. Matth. I, 18 ff.; Luke II, 1 ff. — [11] Cf. Mark I, 9-11 and parall.

They shall cease (from work) on the holy day of the Martyr Stephen [12], and the rest of the holy martyrs — these who regarded Christ more precious than their (own) lives.

Regarding times of prayer by the apostle Paul

Complete prayers in the morning, at the third hour, at the sixth, at the ninth, in the evening, and at cock-crowing.

* In the morning giving thanks that the Lord has given us light, * p. 76 that He has caused to pass the night, and has brought on the day.

At the third hour, because at that (hour) the Lord received the sentence from Pilate [13].

At the sixth, because at that (hour) Christ was crucified when His side was rent and the blood and water came out [14].

At the ninth, because when the Lord was crucified everything was shaken [15] as though (nature) was shuddering at the audacity of the impious Jews, not bearing the insult of the Lord.

In the evening, however, giving thanks that He has given to you the rest of night from the labors of the day.

At the crowing of the cock, however, because it brings the good news about the coming of the day and the service of works (proper in) the light.

However, if it is not possible to go to the church because of the non-believers, you, O bishop, shall gather them in a house so that a believer may not enter the church of the impious ones. For it is not the place that sanctifies the man, but the man the place. If the impious hold the place, flee from it so that you may not be polluted by them. For just as saintly priests sanctify, so do those impure ones pollute.

If it is not possible for them to be gathered together in a house and not in the church, everyone by himself shall sing, read and pray, or two or three together. For, "where two or three are gathered in my name there am I in their midst" [16].

No believer shall pray with an auditor in the house, for it is not right that the one in fellowship (with the believers) shall be defiled by one who is not in fellowship.

[12] Cf. Acts VII, 54 ff. — [13] Cf. Mark XV, 1 ff. and parall. — [14] John XIX, 34 — [15] Cf. Matth. XXVII, 45 ff. — [16] Matth. XVIII, 20.

A believer shall also not pray with the heretic in the house, for, "what fellowship has light with darkness?" [17]

Male believers or female believers who have joined together with the slaves either shall leave (them) or they shall be rejected.

* p. 77

* Concerning the days of the dead, those which shall be celebrated of Paul the apostle like others, by Jacob

The third (day) of those who have fallen asleep shall be celebrated with Psalms and prayers because of Him who arose within three days.

The ninth day, for the commemoration of those (still) living and of those who have fallen asleep.

The thirtieth (day) according to the ancient example — for so the people lamented Moses [18]. The (alms) from his possession (shall be given) to the poor for remembrance of him.

These things we say concerning the chaste ones; in regard to the impious — if you shall give (all) the world to the poor it shall not be beneficial in anything for him who, when he was still (alive), was an enemy of God. It is evident that (it will be so) also after he has departed. For there is no iniquity with Him. For, "The Lord is righteous and loves righteousness." [19] And "behold the man and his work" [20].

Concerning this that the clerics shall be invited to the memorials of those who have fallen asleep

At their memorial feasts when you are invited, eat with orderliness and the fear of God, as (men) able to intercede for those who have departed.

Since you are the presbyters and deacons of Christ, it is right that you shall always be attentive, (both) among yourselves and among others so that you shall be able to instruct the unruly ones. For as Scripture has said: "The mighty are passionate; but they shall not drink wine lest they drink and forget wisdom and shall not be able to judge aright the truth." [21] Therefore, both the bishops and presbyters and deacons are authorities of the church next to God Almighty and His beloved Son.

[17] II Cor. VI, 14 — [18] Deut. XXXIV, 8 — [19] Ps. XI, 7 — [20] Isa. LXII, 11 — [21] Prov. XXXI, 4-5.

However, we do not say that they shall not drink (at all) * for otherwise it would be an insult to that which has been made by the Godhead for joy, but that they shall not become intoxicated. For the Scripture has not said : "Do not drink wine ". But what does it say ? "You shall not drink wine for drunkenness" [22]. And again : "Thorns spring up in the hands of the drunkard" [23]. * p. 78

But this we do not say only concerning those who are in the clergy, but also concerning every lay Christian upon whom the name of our Lord Jesus Christ has been invoked. For to them it says : "Who has woe ? Who has commotion ? Who has uneasiness and babbling ? Who has redness of eyes ? Who has moans without cause ? Do not those who tarry long over the wine, who search (for places) where there are drinking parties ?" [24]

Concerning these who are persecuted and fleeing for the sake of their faith and what consolation shall be (given) to them

Those who are persecuted for the sake of the faith and flee from town to town shall be received for the sake of remembering the words of the Lord, knowing that "the Spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak"[25]. And (so) they accept the rapine of their possessions in order to preserve the name of Christ on them without denial (of it). Help them, therefore, in these (things which) they need, as you fulfill the commandment of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Concerning this that everyone shall stay in the rank to which he has been assigned and shall not transgress the boundaries, of Paul and Peter

This we all, in common, command that everyone shall stay in the rank which has been given to him and that he shall not trespass the boundaries. For they are not our own, but God's. For the Lord says : "He who hears you, hears me, and he who hears me", He says, * "hears Him who sent me. He who rejects you, rejects me ; but he who rejects me, rejects Him who sent me" [26]. * p. 79

[22] Cf. Prov. xxiii, 20 ; Eph. v, 18 — [23] Cf. Prov. xxvi, 9 — [24] Prov. xxiii, 29-30 — [25] Matth. xxvi, 41 — [26] Luke x, 16.

For if those (things) which are lifeless observe orderliness — such as the night, the day, the sun, the moon, the stars, the elements [27], the seasons, the months, the weeks, the days, and the hours — and are subject to the uses which were set for them according to what is set — "Thou hast set the boundary that they do not pass over" [28], and again concerning the sea, "But I have set boundaries to it and surrounded (it) with bars and gates and have said to it, 'But up to here you shall come and you shall not pass over' " [29] — how much more ought you not to venture to shake something from those (things) which according to the will of God we have determined for you!

But because many count this a small matter and venture to confuse the ranks and to remove the ordination which belongs to them severally, seizing the degrees which were not given (to them), and allowing themselves (the right) to confer these (things) in regard to which they themselves have no jurisdiction, and because of which they provoke God to anger in like manner as those of the house of Corah and King Uzziah [30] who having no authority and being without (a commission) from God took for themselves the high priesthood — these were those who were burned with fire, but that one (was struck) by leprosy on his upper side. But they provoke Christ Jesus who has commanded (this) to anger. Further they also grieve the Holy Spirit and annul His testimony. They rightly receive the peril which is set over those who do this in like manner and (also) the negligence of the sacrifices and eucharistic offerings (occurring) by this, that impiously they are being offered by those who ought not, counting the honor of the high priesthood which is taken in likeness of the great high priest, our Lord Jesus Christ, our God, a mockery.

There was a necessity for us and (regarding) this we shall admonish (you). For some have already turned back after their nothingness. But we say as (did) Moses the servant of God to "whom God spoke
* p. 80 face to face, * as a man speaking with his friend" [31], to whom He said, "I know you above everyone" [32], to whom He spoke personally and not through signs and through dreams or angels or hints [33]. (When) this (man) laid down the divine law, he ordered (and) distinguished those (functions) which were lawful to be performed by the high priest

[27] στοιχεῖα — [28] Ps. CIV, 9 — [29] Job XXXVIII, 10-11 — [30] Cf. Num. XVI; II Chron. XXVI — [31] Cf. Num. XII, 7-8; Exod. XXXIII, 11. 17 — [32] Cf. Exod. XXXIII, 17 — [33] Or: symbols.

and those by the priests and those by the Levites, dividing to everyone his (proper) service in the ministry. Those (functions) which were commanded to be accomplished by the high priests, these are not for the priests to touch lawfully. But those which were determined for the priests, the Levites were not to touch. However, everyone was to observe these determined ministries which he received. If anyone wanted to interfere [34] beyond the tradition, death was his punishment. However, the proof in the case of Saul shows this especially, who, thinking to offer sacrifice without the prophet and high priest Samuel, drew upon himself a sin and a curse without absolution. Not even this that he was anointed king by him persuaded the prophet. However, God demonstrated the issue clearly in these (circumstances) concerning Uzziah [36] when He without delay claimed punishment because of the transgression of the law and he who went mad after the high priesthood became alien (also) for the kingdom.

But concerning those (things) which (occur) among us doubtless you are not unaware [37]. For you know by all means that bishops who have been named by us and presbyters and deacons (were made) by prayers and laying on of hands. By the differences of the names (of the officers), also, the difference of the functions [38] is shown. For not any one who wishes is ordained by us, as, for example, in the case of the impure and mutilated priesthood of the calves under Jeroboam[39], except only he who is called by God. For if there were no distinctions, no law whatsoever or order, it would suffice that through one name all the (offices) would be fulfilled. But having learned from the Lord the sequence of functions, we have set apart (the functions of the) high priesthood for the bishops, those of * the priesthood for the presbyters, and those of the ministration under both of them for the deacons — in order that these (functions) of worship shall be celebrated purely. * p. 81

For it is not lawful that a deacon shall offer the sacrifice or baptize or make a blessing, great or small, nor for a presbyter to perform ordinations, for it is not holy that the order shall be overturned. For "God is not the God of orderlessness" [40] so that those who are subordinate should usurp these (functions) of the superiors, forming a new legislation for their (own) evil knowing that "it is hard for them

[34] Lit. touch — [35] I Sam. XIII, 9 ff. — [36] II Chron. XXVI, 16 ff. — [37] Lit. erring — [38] Lit. acts — [39] I Kings XII, 28 ff. — [40] I Cor. XIV, 33.

to kick against these things" [41], for they do not contend with us or with the bishops, but with the seer of all, Jesus Christ, God.

For high priest, priests and Levites were established by Moses who, indeed, was most beloved of God. But we, thirteen apostles, (were ordained) by our Savior.

But the apostles I, Clement, and I, Jacob, and others with us — we need not count again all of them.

In common, however, presbyters, deacons, subdeacons and readers (were) ordained by all of us.

Foremost, thus, the high priest by nature is Christ, the only-begotten — Christ has not seized the honor for Himself, but has been appointed by the Father. He who became man for our sake and offered the spiritual sacrifice to God and the Father before His suffering, He ordered us alone to do this, although there were others with us who believed in Him. However, by no means (is it the case that) everyone who believes is already appointed priest or obtains the order of the high priesthood.

But after His ascension according to His commandment we offered the pure and unbloody sacrifice. We appointed bishops and presbyters and deacons, seven in number; one of them is Stephen, the blessed
* p. 82 martyr, who did not stay behind us * in the divine love, he who demonstrated such a great piety by (his) faith and his love of our Lord Jesus Christ in order to give also his life for Him — he was killed by the Jews, the murderers of the Lord, by hurling stones [42]. Nevertheless, a man like this and so great, who boiled in spirit [43], this one who saw Christ on the right hand of God and that the heavenly gates were opened, does not appear at all to employ those (functions) which do not belong to the deaconate or to offer sacrifice or to have laid hands on any one, but he observed the order of the deaconate until the end. For in this way it was becoming for a martyr of Christ to observe orderliness.

If some blame Philip [45], the deacon, and Ananias [46], a faithful brother, that the one, indeed, baptized a believer and the other me, Paul, they do not understand what we say. For we have said that no one seizes for himself the honor of the priesthood, but either has received from God as Melchizedek and Jacob or from the high priest as

[41] Acts IX, 4 — [42] Acts VII, 54 ff. — [43] Cf. Acts VII, 8 — [44] Acts VII, 55-56. — [45] Acts VIII, 26 ff. — [46] Acts IX, 10 ff.

Aaron from Moses. Therefore, Philip and Ananias did not constitute themselves, but were appointed by Christ, the incomparably high priest.

The commandment of Paul the apostle concerning those who for the first time approach the mysteries

I, Paul, the least of the apostles, command you, the bishops, presbyters and deacons concerning the canons.

Those who for the first time approach the mysteries of piety shall be brought to the bishops by the deacons, or to the presbyters. They shall be investigated as to the causes why they approach the dominical Word. * And those who bring them shall testify about them, examining * p. 83 the things (regarding the persons) of them. Their manner and way (of life) shall be investigated accurately and whether they are slaves or free men and whether anyone is a slave of a believer.

If he is a slave of a believer, his master shall be asked if he can testify about him. Or (if not), he shall be rejected until he himself shows his master that he deserves (it). But if he testifies about him, he shall be received.

If he is a slave of a heathen, he shall learn to please his master that the Word not be blasphemed.

If then he has a wife or a woman has a husband, they shall learn to be content with each other.

If they are not married, they shall learn not to fornicate but to marry lawfully.

If his master is a believer and knows that he fornicates and does not give him a wife or a husband to a wife, he shall be excommunicated.

If, however, anyone has a demon he shall be taught piety, but he shall not be received into the (celebration) of the sacrifices before he shall be cleansed. But if death is imminent, he shall be received.

If someone who feeds on fornication comes, either he shall leave this, that is, committing the abomination, or he shall be rejected.

(If) a harlot approaches, either she shall leave (her habits) or she shall be rejected.

If a maker of idols approaches, either he shall leave (his handiwork) or he shall be rejected.

If someone of those of the stage (of a theater) approaches, whether he is a man or a woman, or a charioteer or athlete or a runner in a stadium or a swallower of glass vessels or olympic gamester or a flute player or a harp player or a lute player or one who teaches dancing [47] (with music) or a tavern keeper [48] — either they shall leave (their occupations) or they shall be rejected.

* p. 84 * If a soldier approaches, he shall learn not to do iniquity, (or) to accuse falsely, but to be content with his wages which are given (to him). If he submits, he shall be received; if he resists, he shall be rejected.

But he who is practicing obscenity, an effeminate man, a shameful one, a magician, an enchanter, a diviner, one who gathers people for enchantment, an astrologer, a soothsayer, a user of charms, a juggler, one who teaches signs, one who interprets vibrations, one who makes amulets, one who observes encounters, or the defects of the face or feet, or the birds or cats, or voices of sounds or signs — they shall be tested for some time, for evil (of this kind) is difficult to be washed away. If they stay away from them, they shall be received; but if they are not persuaded, they shall be rejected.

A slave maiden who is a concubine of an unbeliever, if she confines herself to him alone shall be received. If she commits excesses with others, she shall be rejected.

If a believer has a concubine and she is a slave maiden, he shall abandon (this way) and marry legally. If she is a daughter of a freed man, he shall take her legally. If not, he shall be rejected.

If one adheres to the customs of pagans or to the fables of the Jews, either he shall be turned (in the other way) or he shall be rejected.

He who is prepared to become a catechumen shall be under instruction for three years. If, however, anyone is diligent and has love because of this undertaking [49], he shall be received (sooner) — for it is not the time but the manner (of life) that is to be judged.

If anyone holds to the madness of the theater or hunts or horse races or the ardent desire of the wrestler of evils, either he shall abandon (this way) or he shall be rejected.

He who teaches — although he is a layman — if he is careful in the Word and chaste in the manner (of life) he shall teach. For (the Scripture) says: "They shall be all taught of God" [50].

Here end the ordinances of the apostles.

[47] ὀρχηστύς — [48] κάπηλος, tavern-keeper or a huckster — [49] Lit. business, affair — [50] Isa. LIV, 13; cf. John VI, 45.

* [VII] * p. 85

AGAIN, ECCLESIASTICAL REGULATIONS OF THE GREAT AND HOLY SYNOD OF THE 318 FATHERS WHO ASSEMBLED IM NICAEA, TOWN OF BITHYNIA, IN THE YEAR 636 ACCORDING TO THE ERA OF ALEXANDER, IN THE MONTH ḤAZĪRĀN, AND THEY DECIDED WHAT IS WRITTEN HEREUNDER

1. Regarding those who mutiliate or castrate themselves.

If anyone because of illness has undergone a surgical operation by physicians or if he has been castrated by barbarians, he shall remain in the clergy; however, if anyone having sound health has castrated himself, it is incumbent upon such a one, if he be in the clergy, to demit; henceforth, no one of those persons is to be brought near to the clergy according to the evidence in the above; this refers to those who willfully do the thing and dare to castrate their members; but if men have been castrated whether by barbarians or by their masters, and are otherwise found worthy, such men the canon accepts to the clergy.

2. Regarding those who come from heathenism and who along with their baptism are brought to ordination.

Because many things either from necessity or otherwise, through the urgency of individuals have been done contrary to the ecclesiastical canon, so that men just received from heathenism into the faith — and who for a short time only have been instructed — are immediately brought to spiritual baptism, and then as soon as they have been baptized, brought into the episcopate or the presbyterate, it has seemed right to us that, henceforth, a thing such as this shall not happen. For the catechumen, too, there is need for time and of a longer trial after baptism. * For the apostolic word is clear, saying: "He should * p. 86 not be a recent convert, lest he, being lifted up (with pride), fall into condemnation and the snare of the devil" [1].

But if, with the passing of time, any sensual sin be discovered about

[1] I Tim. III, 6.

the person, and he should be found guilty by two or three witnesses, such a one shall demit from the clergy. He who transgresses these (regulations) and does so, daring to go against this great synod, he will imperil his clerical position.

3. Regarding the *subintroductae* [2].

The great synod has stringently forbidden any bishop, presbyter, deacon, or anyone of the clergy, the authority to have a *subintroducta* with him, except only a mother or sister or aunt or such persons only who are beyond every suspicion.

4. Regarding those who in the eparchies are elevated to the episcopate.

It is by all means lawful that the bishop shall be appointed by all the bishops in the eparchy; but if this be difficult, whether on account of urgent necessity or because of the length of the journey, by all means three should gather together, and those absent choose (suffrages) and communicate in writing; then the ordination shall take place. But in every eparchy, the ratification of these (actions) that have taken place shall be given to the metropolitan.

5. Regarding those who have been excluded from the fellowship.

Concerning those who have been excommunicated by bishops in every eparchy, whether of those in the clergy or of those in the rank of the laity, the provision of the canon shall be accepted that those persons cast out by some shall not be received by others.

However, inquiry should be made whether they have been excom-
* p. 87 municated through captiousness or through some dispute, * or any such like annoyance on the part of the bishop and (in this way) have been removed from the community of the church.

Further, so that this matter may have due investigation, it seems proper to us that in every eparchy synods shall be gathered twice a year in order that, when all the bishops of the eparchy are assembled together, questions such as these may be examined, so that those who have confessedly offended against their bishop shall be known by all to be excommunicated from the fellowship until it shall seem fit for a general meeting or the bishop to pronounce a milder sentence upon them.

These synods shall be, one before the fast of forty [3] (days) — so

[2] ܣܘܢܝܣܩܛܘܣ, *συνεισάκτοι* — [3] Quadragesima.

that after all bitterness has been put away, the pure offering may be offered to God —, but the second in the time of the *Tešrīs*.

6. Regarding the towns which have the right of primacy.

The ancient customs shall be accepted : as for those in Egypt, in Lybia, and Pentapolis, the bishop of Alexandria has jurisdiction over them, in like manner as the bishop of Rome who also follows the same custom.

Likewise, too, in Antioch and in the other eparchies, the church shall keep the primacy.

By all means it shall be understood, that if anyone be made bishop without the consent of the metropolitan, the great synod has decided that such a man ought not to be a bishop.

If, however, two or three bishops * from natural love of contradiction oppose the rest, it being reasonable and in accordance with the ecclesiastical law, then the choice of the majority shall prevail. * p. 88

7. Regarding the bishop of Aelia, i.e., of Jerusalem.

Since custom and primitive tradition have prevailed that the bishop of Jerusalem shall be honored, he shall have the arrangement [4] of his honor so that its authority is kept for the metropolitan.

8. Regarding those who are called Cathari.

Concerning those who sometimes call themselves Cathari, if they come over to the apostolic and catholic church, it seems fit to the great and holy synod that those who are ordained shall continue as they are in the clergy.

But it is before all things necessary that they should profess in writing that they agree and follow the teaching of the catholic and apostolic church, namely, that they communicate with persons who have been twice married, and with those who have lapsed under persecution, upon whom a period (of penance) has been laid, and (a time of restoration) fixed so that in every thing they follow those (norms) which are pleasing to the catholic church.

Wherever, then, whether in villages or in towns, all of the ordained in the clergy are found to be of these only, they shall remain in the clergy in order and rank.

But if they come over where there is a bishop or presbyter of the catholic church, it is manifest that the bishop of the church must keep the authority of the bishop; but he who has been named bishop by

[4] ἀκολουθία.

those who are called Cathari shall have the honor of presbyter, unless it shall seem fit to the bishop to share the honor of the title.

If, however, this does not seem good to him, then a position of a
* p. 89 chorepiscopate shall be provided for him in order that * he may be clearly seen to be of the clergy, and so that there shall not be two bishops in one town.

9. Regarding those who, without examination, have been brought into the presbyterate.

If any of the persons who have been ordained presbyters without examination, or when they were examined and have confessed that they had sinned but despite this confession, men acting in violation of the canon laid hands upon them — those of this type the canon does not admit; for the catholic church allows (only) that which is blameless.

10. Regarding those who have apostatized under persecution and afterwards have been brought into the clergy.

In respect to those who have apostatized and who have been ordained whether through ignorance, or through confidence or with the previous knowledge of those who ordained them, this shall not suspend the ecclesiastical canon; for when they will be known (as such), they shall be deposed.

11. Regarding those who have apostatized and are in the rank of seculars.

Concerning those who have apostatized without compulsion, without the rapine of their properties, without danger or something like this, as happened during the tyranny of Licinius, the synod concluded that, though they have deserved no mercy, they were to be dealt with in kindness: those who diligently repent, if they are believers, shall spend three years among the hearers; seven years with penitents; but for two years they shall communicate with the people in prayers, but without oblation.

12. Regarding those who have renounced the world and again have returned to the world.

Those who have been called by grace, and have displayed the first eagerness, having put aside their (military) girdles, but afterwards returned to their own vomit, so that some of them spent gold and through gifts regained admission in order to serve — after they have passed the period of three years among the hearers, they shall be for
* p. 90 * ten years in penitence.

Further, in all these cases, it is necessary to investigate into their intention and the kind of repentence. Those who show evidence of conversion by deeds, and not pretense, with fear and tears, and endurance, and good works, when they have completed the appointed time among the hearers, may properly communicate in prayer; and after that, the bishop has the authority to determine yet more favorably concerning them.

But those who take this lightly, and (who think) the form of entering the church is sufficient for their conversion, by all means must complete the whole time.

13. Regarding those who at the time of their death ask for the eucharist.

Concerning those who depart from the world, the ancient and canonical law is to be kept also now, that, if any man is departing from the world, he must not be deprived of the last, divine and most indispensable victuals [5].

But, if anyone who was made worthy of the communion and who received the eucharist when his life was despaired of, is restored to health, he shall remain among those who communicate only in prayers.

But in general, concerning anyone who is departing from the world and asking the communion of the holy victuals, the bishop shall after examination give him the Eucharist.

14. Regarding the catechumens who have apostatized.

Concerning catechumens who have fallen, it seems good to the great and holy synod that they shall be only three years among the hearers, and after this they shall pray with the catechumens.

15. Regarding the matter that it is not fitting for a priest to move from one place to another.

* Because of many disturbances and discords that have occurred, * p. 91 it is concluded that the custom found in certain places contrary to the canon, must entirely be done away, so that neither bishop, presbyter, nor deacon, shall pass from town to town.

If anyone after this decree of the great and holy synod shall dare any such thing, and continue, his proceedings shall be utterly void, and he shall be returned to the church in which he was bishop, presbyter or deacon.

[5] ܡܙܘܢܐ ܕܡܗܝܡܢ, the last provision, the last food.

16. Regarding those who do not stay in the church in which they were ordained.

Those who have thrown themselves into danger, presbyters, deacons, those reckoned so by the canon, having not the fear of God before their eyes and having disobeyed the ecclesiastical canons and so have left their own church, ought not by any means to be received by another church. It is right to apply every constraint to them to return them to their own places; and, if they tarry, that they should be excommunicated from the fellowship.

And if anyone shall dare to steal a person who belongs to another (bishop) and to ordain him for his own church without the permission of the bishop, from whom although he was (enrolled) in the clergy, he had withdrawn, the ordination shall be void.

17. Regarding the clerics who take usury.

Because many among the clergy who pursue covetousness and filthy gains have forgotten the divine Scripture which says: "He has not given his money for usury" [6], and in lending money demand the hundredth (as interest), the great and holy synod thinks it just that should anyone after this decree be found to receive usury, whether he employs (a transaction) or carries on the business or demands half as much, or acts cunningly * in behalf of any other sort of filthy gains, his expulsion shall take place and he shall be a stranger to the canon.

* p. 92

18. Regarding the priority of honor of the presbyters.

The great and holy synod has heard that in some places and towns the deacons give the Eucharist to the presbyters, whereas neither the canon nor custom approves those having no authority to offer giving the body of Christ to them that do offer. Moreover, it also has been made known that some of the deacons even now receive the Eucharist before the bishops. All these (practices) shall be abolished, and the deacons shall remain within their own bounds, knowing that they are the servants of the bishop and the inferiors of the presbyters. They shall receive the Eucharist according to order after the presbyters with either the bishop or the presbyter giving it to them.

Furthermore, the deacons are not entitled to sit among the presbyters, for that is contrary to the canon and the order.

But if after these decrees, anyone does not wish to obey, he shall be deposed from the deaconate.

[6] Ezech. XVIII, 8.

19. Regarding those who come into the church from the heresy of Paul of Samosata.

Concerning those who are from the heresy of Paul and afterwards have flown for refuge to the catholic church, we have set up a decree that they shall by all means be re-baptized.

If men of them who in past time have been numbered among their clergy should appear blameless and without reproach, after they are baptized anew, they shall receive ordination by a bishop of the catholic church; but if on examination of them they are found to be unfit, their deposition becomes necessary.

Likewise in the case of the deaconess and of all those who are in the *qeyāmā* [7] the same form shall be observed. * However, we mean by deaconesses those who have the habit but who since they have no imposition of hands are by all means to be numbered among the laity. * p. 93

20. On kneeling.

Because there are certain persons who kneel Sunday and during the days of Pentecost, therefore so that all things may be uniformly observed (in every eparchy), it seems good to the holy synod that prayer should be offered to God as we stand.

[VIII]

THE CANONS OF THE SYNOD OF ANCYRA TWENTY-FOUR

These canons are anterior to those which were set up in Nicaea. Those of Nicaea however have been written first, on account of the authority of the great and holy synod of Nicaea.

1. Regarding the presbyters who have sacrificed.

Those presbyters who have offered (sacrifices to the idols) and afterwards return to the conflict, not with some hypocrisy, but in sincerity — provided that they have not used management, arrangement or persuasion, so as to appear to have been subjected to the torture when it was applied only in seeming and in pretence — it has seemed good that they may share in the honor of (their) chair. Nevertheless, they do not have the authority to offer nor to preach and in any way to serve in any act of the sacerdotal ministry.

7 ܩܝܡܐ, a covenant, the minor orders.

2. Regarding the deacons who have sacrificed.

In like manner, the deacons who have sacrificed (to the idols) and afterwards resume the conflict, shall have their other honors, but shall
* p. 94 abstain from every priestly ministry, * neither bringing the bread and the cup to the altar nor making proclamation.

Nevertheless, if any of the bishops shall notice in them some pain or humiliation or gentleness and wishes to grant more (indulgence) or (so) decrees it — they shall have the authority.

3. Regarding those who have fled and been apprehended and by some force have suffered and apostatized.

Those who have fled and been apprehended or have been betrayed by their household or those who have otherwise been despoiled of their goods or have endured tortures or fallen into prisons, declaring that they are Christians, that their garments were rent or who have been forced to receive something which their persecuters violently thrust into their hands, or meat (offered to the idols) which they have received under necessity, in all these circumstances, confessing that they were Christians, and who, by their complete steadfastness, manner and humility of life, continually demonstrate grief at what has happened, these persons, inasmuch as they are free from sin, are not to be excluded from the eucharist.

If, through an extreme strictness or ignorance of certain ones they have been excluded, they shall immediately be readmitted.

This in the same manner (is valid) for those of the clergy as well as for other lay people.

It has first been considered whether laymen who have fallen under the same compulsion may be admitted to the order and we have agreed that, since they have sinned in nothing, they also shall be ordained, provided their past course of life was found to be upright.

4. Regarding those who for various reasons have participated in heathenism.

Concerning those who under force have sacrificed (to the idols) and regarding those who have dined in the temple of the idols, those who went and in most cheerful manner ascended and in adorned dress
* p. 95 behaved in such a way that they partook * with indifference of the supper which was provided, it is concluded that they shall be for one year among the catechumens [1] and among the penitents for three years,

[1] ܟܬܘܒ̈ܐ, catechumens.

and that they communicate in prayers for only two years, after which they may return to the complete (fellowship).

But those who went up in mourning garment as they sat down and ate, weeping throughout the banquet, if they have completed the period of three years of penitence, shall be received without the eucharist. But if they did not eat, they shall be in penitence for two years and in the third year shall communicate without the eucharist, so that in the fourth year they shall be received into full (fellowship).

But the bishops shall have authority after examining the character of their conversion, either to bestow mercy on them or to extend the time. But above all, their life before the struggle and afterwards shall be investigated, and accordingly, so shall mercy be measured.

5. Regarding those who have apostatized because of fear.

Regarding those who have shrunk merely upon threat of punishment and of the confiscation of their goods or upon the threat of banishment from the country, and have sacrificed (to the idols), and who until this present time have not repented nor been converted but who now at this time of the synod, have approached with the purpose of conversion, it is agreed that they shall be received as hearers till the great day, and that after the great day they are to do penitence for three years, and after two more years communicate without the eucharist, and then come to full (fellowship); so they shall complete all these six years.

And if there is anyone who has been received to penance before this synod, the beginning of the six years shall be reckoned to them from that time.

* Nevertheless, if there should be any expectation of some danger and death, whether from disease or any other cause that may happen, they shall be received, but under stipulation. * p. 96

6. Regarding those who have eaten in the places of the temples of idols.

Regarding those who have eaten together at a heathen feast in a place appointed for heathens, but who have brought and eaten their own food, it is agreed that they shall be two years in penitence and then shall be received.

But whether it is proper that upon reception they shall also immediately receive the eucharist, every bishop shall examine as he investigates the rest of the life of each of them.

7. Regarding those who have sacrificed many times.

Those who, on two or three occasions, sacrificed under coercion, shall spend four years in penitence and communicate two years without the eucharist, and in the seventh year shall be received to full (fellowship).

8. Regarding those who have become also a cause for others to sacrifice.

But those who have not only turned aside, but have risen against their brothers and forced them, and have become a cause to them that they were compelled (to apostatize), those for three years shall be received in the place of the hearers, but six more years in the place of penitents, and another year in the fellowship with the eucharist in order that, when they have fulfilled (the period of) then years, they may partake of the full (fellowship); during this time also the course of their life is to be investigated.

9. Regarding the deacons who as they receive ordination have testified regarding marriage.

Deacons who have been instituted and who in the time when they were ordained testified and declared that it is right for them to marry,
* p. 97 because they were not able to remain so, and who afterwards * have married, shall continue in their ministry, because it was conceded to them by the bishop.

Persons, however, who remained silent (on this matter) agreeing at their ordination to continue so (as they were), and afterwards proceeded to marriage, these shall cease from the deaconate.

10. Regarding those who have been betrothed and were corrupted by others.

It is agreed that those girls who had been betrothed and who afterwards were carried away under force by others, shall be restored to those to whom they had formerly been betrothed, even though they have suffered violence (from the ravagers).

11. Regarding the hearers who have sacrificed.

It is agreed that those who have sacrificed (to the idols) before their baptism, and were afterwards baptized, may be promoted to the clergy inasmuch as they have been cleansed.

12. On the matter that it is improper for a cleric to receive ordination from chorepiscopoi in the countries; according to an ancient custom, they need the authorization of the bishop.

Chorepiscopoi are not entitled to make ordinations of presbyters or deacons — and (most certainly) not presbyters of a town — without

the commission of the bishop, (given) in writing for every country where they shall go.

13. Regarding those in the clergy who abstain from meat.

It is agreed that presbyters and deacons who are among the clergy who abstain from meat shall eat it and then, if they wish, shall control themselves. However, if they disdain it and will not even eat herbs boiled with meat, but disobey the canons, they shall cease from their order.

14. Concerning ecclesiastical things which have been sold because of the need of the church.

Concerning things belonging to the church, which presbyters may have sold when there was no bishop, they shall be returned to the church; and it shall be in the judgment of the bishop whether it is right to receive the price given for the purchase or not; for * often- * p. 98 times the price of the things sold might yield them the greater value.

15. Regarding those who fornicate with animals.

Because of those who have had or who are having intercourse with animals, we determine, if they have sinned before they became twenty years of age, they shall be fifteen years in penitence, and (afterwards) shall have fellowship in prayer (only); thereafter when they have completed five years in this fellowship, they shall receive the eucharist. Their life in penitence shall be examined and according to this shall be made worthy of compassion; and if there are persons insatiable in sin of this kind, their penitence shall be prolonged.

Those who have passed this age and have wives and have fallen into this sin, shall be penitents for twenty-five years and then receive fellowship; and after they have completed five years in the fellowship of prayer, they shall be made worthy of the eucharist.

And persons who have wives and are more than fifty years of age and have so sinned shall be made worthy of the eucharist (only) at the completion of their lives.

16. Regarding those who have defiled themselves with the animals or with males or still are defiling themselves.

Those who defiled themselves with beasts, being also leprous or have infected others (with the leprosy of this crime), they have ordered that they shall pray among the *hiemantes*.

17. Regarding those who have become bishops but have not been received.

If persons who have been constituted bishops but have not been

received by the district to which they were named, and wish to invade other districts and trouble those bishops who have created them, stirring up strife against them, they shall be suspended.

But if they are willing to sit as presbyters where they were formerly (presbyters), they shall not be deprived of that honor. But if they shall act seditiously against * the bishops there, the honor of the presbyterate also shall be taken from them and they shall be excommunicated.

* p. 99

18. Regarding those who because of virginity have forsaken the world and of women who being in the (monastic) habit [2] live together with men.

Those who have professed their virginity and defraud their profession, the penalty set upon those is that they shall complete the punishment of digamists.

Moreover, we prohibit the virgins from living with men as sisters.

19. Regarding those who are adulteresses or who commit adultery.

If the wife of anyone has committed adultery or if any man commits adultery, it is lawful that the full (fellowship) shall be (held up) seven years according to the degrees (of penance) fixed above.

20. Regarding those who in various ways kill their children (born) of fornication.

Concerning women who fornicate and kill their children and devise plans in order to corrupt their embryos, a former decree excluded them until (the hour of) departure (from this world). We have agreed to this, but have found somewhat more mercy (fitting) and have determined that they shall complete the period of ten years according to the degrees which have been set up.

21. Concerning those who kill willfully.

Those who kill willfully shall be penitents; but at the end of their life they shall be made worthy of the full (fellowship).

22. Concerning those who kill involuntarily.

Concerning involuntary murderers, a former decree has ordered that after seven years (of penance) they shall be admitted to the full fellowship according to the fixed degrees; but this second one is that they fulfill (a term of) five years.

23. Concerning divination.

Those who practice divination, and follow the customs of the heathen, or * who take men to their houses for the invention of sorceries

* p. 100

[2] σχῆμα.

or for lustrations, shall fall under the canon of five years (of penance) according to the fixed degrees; three years in penitence and two in prayer without the eucharist.

24. Concerning those who know about the corruption of the virgins. A certain man who has betrothed a girl, corrupted her sister, so that she conceived. After that he married his betrothed, but she who had been corrupted hanged herself. Those who knew are commanded that they shall be received among the co-standers after ten years (of penance) according to the degrees which have been fixed.

Here end the canons of the Synod of Ancyra.

[IX]

THE FOURTEEN CANONS OF NEOCAESAREA

These canons, i.e. set up in Neocaesarea, also are later than those (set up) at Ancyra, but they also precede those in Nicaea.

1. Regarding the presbyters who have taken wives or who fornicate.

If a presbyter takes a wife, he falls from his order. But if he fornicates or commits adultery, he shall be altogether cast out and shall enter penance.

2. Regarding those who have married two brothers or who marry two sisters.

If a woman has married two brothers, she shall be cast out (of communion) until death. But at death she, as an act of mercy, shall be admitted to penance, if she declares that she will break off the marriage, should she recover. But if the woman who is in such a marriage dies, * or the man, penance for the one who survives shall be very severe. * p. 10

3. Regarding many marriages.

Concerning those who fall into many marriages, the time set up for them is well known; but the manner of their living and their faith reduces the time.

4. About those who wanted to fornicate, but were hindered.

If a man lusting after a woman wants to sleep with her, but his intention does not come to the deed, it is evident that he has been saved by the grace of God.

5. Regarding the catechumens who have sinned.

If a catechumen [1] as he enters the church and has taken his place in the order of catechumens and then proves himself that he sins, if he is a kneeler, he shall become a hearer [2] and shall sin no more. But should he again sin while becoming a hearer, he shall be cast out.

6. Concerning the pregnant women.

Concerning a pregnant woman with child, it is lawful that she ought to be baptized whensoever she will; for in this the woman communicates nothing to the child she brings forth, since every person demonsrates his own will through confession.

7. Concerning the matter that it is unlawful for the presbyters to recline at the marriage feast of those who marry for the second time.

A presbyter shall not eat at the marriage feast of persons contracting a second marriage. But if he does not (obey) and this digamist [3] (comes and) asks for penance, what shall the presbyter do who by eating sanctions the marriage feast?

8. Concerning those whose wives have committed adultery.

If the wife has committed adultery and been clearly convicted, such a man cannot come to the ordination; and if she commits adultery after his ordination, it is right that he shall dismiss her; but if he stays with her, he cannot have a part in the ministry which is committed to him.

* p. 102 * 9. Concerning those who have come to the presbyterate after their sins before ordination.

A presbyter who has been ordained after having committed carnal sin and who shall confess that he had sinned before his ordination, shall not offer but he shall remain in other functions because of his zeal in other respects; for many say that ordination blots out those other kinds of sins. But if he does not confess and cannot be openly convicted, the authority (of decision) shall be given to his discretion.

10. Concerning the deacons in like manner.

In like manner, also, if a deacon has fallen into the same sin, he shall take the rank of a subdeacon.

11. Concerning this, when it is lawful for the presbyters to receive ordination.

A presbyter, before he becomes thirty years of age, shall not receive ordination, even though he is a man who greatly deserves this honor,

[1] ܩܛܟܘܡܝܢܘܣ, a catechumen — [2] ܫܡܥܢܐ, a hearer — [3] ܕܒܥܠ ܬܪܝܢ, rendering of δίγαμος.

but he shall be retained. For our Lord was baptized and began to teach in His thirtieth year [4].

12. Regarding those who are baptized when they are ill.

If a man is baptized when he is ill, he cannot be brought to the presbyterate, for his (confession of) faith was not voluntary, but of necessity, unless, perchance, because of his subsequent (display of) zeal and faith, and because of the lack of men.

13. Concerning the presbyters of the country.

The presbyters of the country cannot offer in the church of the town when the bishop or presbyters of the town are present; nor shall they give of the bread with prayer or the cup. If, however, they be absent, and he, the presbyter of the village, is called to prayers, he shall give them.

The chorepiscopoi, however, according to the pattern of the Seventy [5], and as fellow servants, on account of their devotion to the poor, they are honored to offer.

14. Regarding the known number of the deacons.

* It is right that the deacons shall be seven (in number) according to the canon, even if the town is very large; of this you will be persuaded from the Book of Acts [6]. * p. 103

Here end the canons of the Synod of Neocaesarea.

[X]

OF THE SYNOD OF GANGRA
TWENTY CANONS

These are the canons which were set up after the Synod of Nicaea, by the honored lords and the fellow servants in Armenia : Eusebius, Aelianus, Eugenius, Olympius, Bithynicus, Gregorius, Philetus, Pappus, Eulalius, Hypatius, Bassus, Proaeresius, Eugenius, Harclius, Basilius. These are those who were gathered in the holy Synod in Gangra.

For as much as the holy synod of bishops assembled in the church of Gangra on account of ecclesiastical matters, inquiring also about those which concern Eustathius, found that many things have been

[4] Cf. Luke III, 23 — [5] Luke X, 1 ff. — [6] Acts VI, 3 f.

done contrary to the law by these men who are partisans of Eustathius, it was compelled to decide — which it has hastened to make publicly known to all — for the removal of whatever had been done amiss by him, especially since they had been defaming marriage and claiming that no person of those who were married had any hope before God, many misguided married women had left their husbands, also husbands their wives, and afterwards, as they were not able to contain themselves, they committed adultery... [1]

... [2] introducing novelties (contrary to) the ecclesiastical canons. We thus admire virginity, accompanied by humiliry; and we praise contin-
* p. 104 ence, * accompanied by chastity and the fear of God; and we approve leaving the occupations of the world, accompanied with humility of mind; (at the same time that) we honor the chaste companionship of marriage; and we do not reject wealth accompanied with righteousness and almsgiving; and we extoll plainness and contempt for the garment (worn) only for attention, (and that which is) not over-fastidious, in respect to the body, but dissolute, negligent and perverse (fashion in) dress we do not honor; and we reverence the houses of God and accept prayers held in them as holy and helpful, not confining religion within the houses, just as we reverence every place built in the name of God and approve of gathering together that takes place in the church itself for the common profit; and we bless the excellent charities of the brethren to the poor, according to the tradition of the church; and, to sum up concisely, we pray that these things which have been delivered by the divine Scriptures and the apostolic traditions shall be done in the church.

Here end the twenty canons of the Synod of Gangra.

[XI]

THE SYNOD THAT WAS GATHERED IN ENCAENIIS, IN THE CHURCH OF ANTIOCH, TWENTY FIVE CANONS

The holy and peaceful synod which has been gathered together by God in Antioch, to those in every eparchy, likeminded and holy (fellow ministers); rejoice in the Lord.

[1] Hiatus in Ms — [2] Hiatus in Ms.

The grace and truth of our Lord Jesus Christ and Savior has regarded the holy church of the Antiochians and has rejoined us all together * with harmony and concord and the spirit of peace, having rectified * p. 105 many other things; and with all this rectification is wrought by the assistance of the holy and peace-giving Spirit. Wherefore, those (things) which after much thinking appeared good and excellent and were decided and approved by all of us, we, the bishops gathered together from various eparchies in the city of Antioch, have now brought it to your knowledge, trusting in the grace of our Lord and in the peace of the Holy Spirit that you also will agree with us and stand by us as far as in you lies, striving with us in prayers, and being even more united with us, adhering to the Holy Spirit and consenting with us on the same things and those which appear to us correct, (and that) you will determine and confirm them in the concord of the Holy Spirit.

These are the ecclesiastical canons which have been determined, those which have been written below. The holy and peaceful synod gathered from God in Antioch has determined them.

1. Regarding those who act against those (canons) determined in Nicaea because of the Easter feast.

Those who dare to set aside the decree of the great and holy synod which was at Nicaea and gathered in the presence of the King Constantine, beloved of God, concerning the holy and salutary feast of Easter; if they persist in such quarrel, opposing what was then rightly determined, no fellowship shall be for them and they shall be cast out from the church. This is said concerning the lay people.

But, if anyone of those who guide the church, whether he be a bishop, presbyter, or deacon, shall dare, after this decree, as to the overturning of the people and to the confusion of the church, to tear it asunder * by observing the Pascha [1] with the Jews, this holy synod * p. 106 (decrees) that he shall henceforth be an alien from the church, as one who not only ruins himself, but who also becomes the cause of corruption and confusion to many; and it not only deposes persons such as these from their ministry, but those also who after their deposition shall dare to communicate with them. And those deposed shall be deprived even of that external honor given by the holy canon and God's priesthood.

2. Concerning those who flee from the holy eucharist and converse in houses with those who have no fellowship.

[1] *πάσχα*.

All those who enter the church of God and hear the holy Scriptures, but do not communicate with the people in prayer or who turn away from partaking of the holy mysteries by reason of some disorder, those shall be cast out of the holy church until they have made confession and have demonstrated the fruits of penance; when they beg they shall receive the forgiveness.

It is not lawful to communicate with persons who have no fellowship or to assemble in private houses and pray with those who do not pray in the church; or to receive in one church those who do not assemble in another church.

And, if any one of the bishops, presbyters or deacons, or anyone from the orders in the church shall be seen communicating with persons who have no fellowship, he shall have no fellowship as one who mars the order of the church.

3. Concerning those who move from one eparchy to another without the consent of their bishops.

If any presbyter or deacon, or any of them who are clergy, shall forsake his own place and shall depart to another place, having wholly changed (his residence, and) shall let himself dwell for a long time in another place, he shall no longer serve; especially if his own bishop summons and advises him to return to his own place and he shall disobey. And if he persists in this disorder, * let him be wholly dismissed from the ministry, so that no further place shall be for his restitution. And if another bishop shall receive a man deposed for this cause, he shall receive punishment from the common synod as one who nullifies the ecclesiastical laws.

* p. 107

4. Concerning those who, though deposed, dare to carry on sacerdotal functions.

If any bishop who has been deposed by a synod, or any presbyter or deacon who has been deposed by his bishop, shall dare to do something of the ministry, whether he be a bishop or a presbyter or a deacon, according to his former custom, he shall no longer have any hope of restitution in another synod. Nor shall he have any opportunity of making his defense.

Also, all who communicate with him shall be cast out of the church, and particularly so if they dare to communicate with those after they have learned of the sentence pronounced against them.

5. On those who have separated themselves from the service of the church, and gather only privately.

If any presbyter or deacon, despising his bishop, has separated himself from the church, and gathered privately, and has set up an altar; and if, when the bishop shall call him (to come) to him he shall not be persuaded and will not obey, even though he summons him a first and a second time, such a one shall be wholly deposed and there shall be for him no remedy, neither shall he be able to regain his honor. If he persists in troubling and disturbing the church, he shall be chastened through the outside authorities as a seditious person.

6. Concerning the clerics or lay people who have been excommunicated.

If anyone has come under excommunication by his own bishop, first of all he shall not be received by another unless he has either been received by his bishop or until, when a synod is held, he shall come and make * his defense, and having convinced the synod, shall receive * p. 108 a different sentence.

This decree shall be on lay people, on presbyters and deacons, and on everyone who is enrolled on the clergy roll.

7. Concerning the reception of strangers.

No one of the strangers shall be received without pacifical [2] letters.

8. Concerning the pacifical letters for the strangers.

However, the presbyters who are in the country shall not give letters canonical — only bishops shall send such letters to their neighboring (bishops). The chorepiscopoi, however, those who are blameless, shall give letters pacifical.

9. Concerning the metropolitans in every eparchy.

The bishops in every eparchy shall acknowledge the bishop who stands at the head of the metropolis, and who has to take care of all the eparchies inasmuch as matters of business come together from every quarter to the metropolitan. Wherefore it is agreed that he shall have precedence in honor and that other bishops shall do nothing in regard to the rest (of the affairs) without him, according to the ancient canon which prevailed from (the times of) our fathers, of such things as pertain only to the authority of each of them and the districts under them.

However, every bishop has authority over his own district, both to administer it with the chastity which is proper for him and to exercise care for the whole region under the authority of his town, making presbyters and deacons, and to do everything with scrutiny. But

[2] ܩܠܝܢܝܩܐ, εἰρηνική.

he shall do nothing further without the bishop of the metropolis; and nothing without the consent of the others.

10. Concerning those called chorepiscopoi.

The holy synod agrees that those in villages and country districts who are called chorepiscopoi, even though they shall receive ordination of the bishops, * shall acknowledge their own limits and administer the churches subject to them, and be content with the care and diligence of these.

* p. 109

As they make subdeacons, *qārūyē* [3] and exorcists [4], they shall be content with promoting these, but they shall not dare to ordain either a presbyter or a deacon, without (the consent of) the bishop of the town to which they are subject, they and their villages.

If anyone shall dare to transgress against these (regulations) that have been determined, he shall be deposed from the rank which he holds.

A chorepiscopus, however, shall become such by the bishop of the town to which he is subject.

11. Concerning the bishops or clerics who approach the kings.

If any bishop or presbyter or anyone of the order of the clergy shall presume to go to the king without the consent and letters of the the bishops of the eparchy, and particularly of the metropolitan, this one shall be exposed publicly and be considered contemptuous and shall be cast out, not only from the fellowship, but also from the honor which he has, because he dares to trouble the hearing of the king, beloved of God, contrary to the law of the church.

If, however, necessary business requires one to go to the king, this he shall do with the advice and consent of the metropolitan of the eparchy and of those in it.

These also shall supply him with their letters.

12. Concerning the bishops or clerics under deposition who approach the king.

If any presbyter or deacon who has been under deposition by his bishop, or any bishop (deposed) by a synod, shall dare to trouble the hearing of the king, when * it is proper for him to go to a greater synod (of bishops) and to bring the things which he thinks (to be right) to more bishops and to abide by the examination and decision by them — if he despising these (rules) shall trouble the king — those persons

* p. 110

[3] ܩܪܝܐ, a reader, reciter — [4] ܐܦܘܕܩܐ, an exorcist.

shall deserve no pardon, not even any one of them, neither shall they have an opportunity of defense nor any hope that they may expect future restoration.

13. Concerning those who (though) they are from another eparchy dare to perform ordinations.

A bishop shall not dare to pass from one eparchy to another and perform ordination upon persons for the advance of the ministry in the church — not even should he have others with him — except he shall go at the written instruction of the metropolitan and the bishops with him, and so shall he go for an ordination.

If, however, he, being invited by no one, shall go irregularly to the ordination of men or to the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs which are not proper for him, all that was done by him shall be void, and he shall receive the punishment appropriate for the irregularity and his unreasonable assault by being forthwith deposed by this holy synod.

14. Concerning the disagreement (caused) by the judgment over bishops accused by fellow bishops of their eparchy.

If a bishop shall be tried on some accusations and then it should happen that there is no agreement among the bishops of the eparchy concerning him, some adjudging the accused innocent and others guilty, for the resolution of all (such) quarrels, the holy synod agrees that the bishop of the metropolis shall call on other bishops from the neighboring eparchy, those who decide and resolve the quarrel * towards the end that, with those of the eparchy, they shall confirm * p. 111 what is determined.

15. Concerning bishops who have been accused by the consensus of the bishops of the eparchy.

If any bishop be accused of some fault, he shall be judged by all the bishops of the eparchy, and they all shall in one accord form the same verdict on him; that one shall be again judged by others but the sentence of concord of all the bishops of the eparchy shall stand firm.

16. Concerning bishops who cease (from their office).

If any bishop having ceased (from his office) shall throw himself upon a church which does not have a bishop and shall seize the throne without the complete synod, he shall be cast out, even if all the people whom he has usurped should want him.

The synod, however, shall be (regarded) complete (only when) the metropolitan is present.

17. Concerning those who have been ordained into the episcopacy and then declined the same.

If any bishop having received the ordination into episcopacy and having been appointed to stand at the head of the people shall not accept the ministry, and shall not be persuaded to go to the church entrusted to him, this one shall have no fellowship until he, being constrained, accepts, or until a full synod of the bishops of the eparchy shall have determined (the matter) concerning him.

18. Concerning those who have been ordained into the episcopacy and were not received.

If any bishop when he has received ordination and does not proceed to the place to which he has been ordained, not through his own fault
* p. 112 but either because of the refusal of the people or for * another reason not arising from him himself, he shall enjoy the honor and the ministry.

In any case he shall not disturb in any way the affairs of the church which he joins; and this one shall abide until the full synod of the eparchy renders the judgment which seems proper.

19. Concerning the ordination of bishops in the eparchy.

A bishop shall not receive ordination without the synod and the presence of the metropolitan of the eparchy.

And when he is present, it is by all means good that all his colleagues in the ministry of the eparchy shall assemble together with him; and it is right that they shall be called by the letter of the metropolitan.

It is preferable for all to come together but if this is difficult, it is by all means right that a majority of them shall come together or shall become partners of the consensus through letters, so that in this way the appointment shall be made in the presence of the majority or with their consent. However, should it take place differently, contrary to what has been determined, it is not right for the ordination to be confirmed.

If the appointment be made according to the prescribed canon and some of them stand against it through their (propensity for) quarrels, the decision of the majority shall prevail.

20. Concerning the synod in the eparchy — that it ought to be at fixed times.

In the interest of ecclesiastical affairs and the settlement of disputes, it seemed to be good that the synods of the bishops shall be (held) in every eparchy two times a year, the first after the third week of the feast of the Pascha [5] so that the synod shall be in the fourth week

[5] Cf. *πάσχα*.

of the Pentecost and that the metropolitan calls to mind those in his eparchy; and the second synod shall be gathered in the *Tešri qadīm* [6] at the time of the full moon. (The purpose is) * that presbyters and * p. 113 deacons, and all who think themselves unjustly dealt with, shall receive judgment from the synod.

However, it shall be unlawful for any to convene a synod without those who are entrusted with the metropolitan see.

21. Concerning this, that, in one way or another a bishop shall not move from his place to another.

A bishop (shall not move) from one place to another, neither imposing himself by his own will, nor led by the people by constraint, and not being constrained by the bishops; but he shall remain in the church that fell to him from God from the outside and shall not move from it, in accordance with the previous decree which had been set up on this subject.

22. Concerning this, that the bishops shall not perform an ordination in another district or make clerics in another district.

A bishop shall not pass to a strange town, which is not subject to him, nor into a district which does not belong to him, either for the ordination of anyone or to appoint presbyters or deacons to places which are subject to other bishops, unless he has the consent of the bishop of the district. And if anyone shall dare something such as this, the ordination shall be void and he shall receive punishment from the synod.

23. Concerning this, that no one shall ordain someone as a successor into the episcopacy.

It is not lawful for a bishop to appoint another as successor to himself and not even at the end of life shall this happen; and if something like this shall take place, the affair shall be (considered) void.

The ecclesiastical law, however, must be kept, that it is not proper otherwise than by a synod together with the judgment * of the bishops * p. 114 — those who have the authority — to ordain the one who deserves (the honor) after the demise of him who (has gone to his) rest.

24. Concerning properties given to the church and those of the bishop.

It is right that those things which belong to the church be preserved with all care to the church, with a good conscience and faith in God, who

[6] October.

is the inspector and the judge of all. These things ought to be administered under the judgment and authority of the bishop who is entrusted with all the people and with those souls gathered together (in the congregation).

Those (objects) that have been given to the church shall be known with the knowledge of the presbyters and deacons, so that these shall know for certain which things belong to the church and which to the bishops; and that nothing be concealed from them, in order should it so happen that the bishop depart from this world, the objects given to the church shall be well-known as shall those of the bishop; so that these will not disappear and perish nor those belonging to the bishop be molested on the pretense that they are ecclesiastical objects.

For it is just and well pleasing to God and man that those things of the bishop be left to whomever he wills, but those of the church be kept for the church, so that there shall be no loss for the church — that the bishop not be injured on the pretext of the interest of the church nor that those goods given to him from his home fall (into lawsuits) and he himself after his death be reviled.

25. Concerning this, that the bishops shall have authority over the administration of the churches.

The bishops shall have authority over the goods of the church, so as to administer them with all chastity and in the fear of God for all those who stand in need; these he uses for whatever necessity (arises) and, if there be a need, for his own necessary uses as well
* p. 115 as for brothers, strangers who come to him, so that they may have * something in any event as the divine apostle says : "Having food and raiment let us therewith be content" [7].

And if he shall not be content with these but shall corrupt those (goods) of the church to the uses of his house, and shall not administer the profits of the church or the rents of its farms with the knowledge of the presbyters and deacons but shall give the authority of these things to his domestics and kinsmen or his brothers or his sons, so that through such (actions) the loss shall secretly (fall) upon the rest of those in the church, this one shall give account to the synod of the eparchy.

But if, otherwise and contrarywise, the bishop shall be defamed

[7] I Tim. VI, 8.

or the presbyters with him as taking to themselves what has been given to the church — whether from lands or any other ecclesiastical possessions — so that the poor are oppressed and the accusation and the blasphemy shall be ascribed to the account of, and against, those who so administer it, such shall be corrected, the holy synod proving what is right.

Here end the twenty-five canons of the Synod of Antioch.

[XII]

THE FIFTY NINE (CANONS) OF THE SYNOD OF LAODICEA OF PHRYGIA

1. The holy synod which assembled at Laodicea in Phrygia, Pacatiana, from diverse eparchies of Asia, set up the ecclesiastical regulations here annexed in written form.

2. Concerning the second marriage.

* It is lawful according to the ecclesiastical canon, so we decree, that through forgiveness the eucharist shall be given to those who have freely and lawfully joined in second marriage and have not (previously) made a secret marriage — when a short period elapses and they have persevered in prayers and fastings. * p. 116

3. Concerning those, who for various transgressions may be leniently[1] restored.

They who have sinned for various transgressions, if they have endured in the prayer of confession and penance and are wholly converted from the evil things they have done, shall be received again into the fellowship, through the mercy of the goodness of God, according to the time of penance given to this sort in proportion to the measure of their offences.

4. Concerning this, that one shall not be promoted to the clergy immediately after baptism.

Those who have recently been baptized shall not be promoted immediately to the order of the clergy.

5. Concerning the time of ordinations.

[1] Lit. warmly.

Concerning this, it is unlawful for ordinations to take place in the presence of auditors.

6. Concerning this, the priests shall not take usury.

Concerning this, it is unlawful for priests, as they lend money, to take those which are called *hemioliae*.

7. Concerning heretics who enter the church and the martyries.

Concerning this, the heretics shall not enter the house of God while they continue in heresy.

8. Concerning those who, from the heretics, are added to the church.

Concerning this, those converted from heresies, those of the Novatians, Photinians and Quartodecimans, whether among the cate-
[f] p. 117 chumens or baptized, shall not be received * until they first anathematize every heresy, and particularly that in which they were held; and afterwards those who among them are called believers when they have learned the symbol of the faith and having been anointed with holy myron, shall so participate in the holy mysteries.

9. Concerning this, that (it is not permitted) to enter the cemetery [2] of the heretics for prayer.

Concerning this, the members of the church are not allowed to go into the cemeteries nor attend the martyries of the heretics for the prayer of healing; those who do so, if they are believers, shall be excommunicated for a fixed period of time; but if they repent and confess that they have sinned, they shall be received.

9. (bis). Concerning marriage with heretics.

It is unlawful for the members of the church indiscriminately to join their children in the fellowship of marriage to heretics.

10. Concerning those of the heresy of the Phrygians.

Concerning this, those who return from the heresy of those who are called Phrygians, even if they are reputed as clergymen among them, and even those called the chiefs, these have to be instructed with all care and baptized by the bishops and the presbyters of the church.

11. Concerning this, that female presbyters shall not be appointed.

Concerning this, it is unlawful for those called presbytides or those sitting in the front, to be appointed in the church.

12. Concerning the ordination of bishops.

Concerning this, bishops shall be appointed to the ecclesiastical

[2] Lit. caves.

governorships by the scrutiny of the metropolitan and the bishop of the eparchy; (they shall be) those who have long been tested in both the cause of the faith and in the cause of an upright life.

* 13. Concerning this, that it is unlawful for the ordination to be * p. 118
by the election of the people.

Concerning this, it is unlawful to allow the people to conduct an election of those who are prepared to come to the priesthood.

14. Concerning this, that the eulogiae which have been offered shall not be sent to another country.

Concerning this, it is unlawful that holy things like the eulogiae [3] during the feast of the Easter shall be sent into other countries.

15. Regarding those who are entitled to recite on the ambo.

It is unlawful for others to sing in the church, except only the *benai qeyāmā* [4], the chanters [5], those who ascend the ambo and recite the (sacred) books.

16. Concerning the reading on the Sabbath.

It is lawful that on the Sabbath the Gospel shall be read and other (sacred) books.

17. Concerning this, that during the days of the gathering (of the congregations), there shall be a lesson from the (sacred) books between every psalm.

Concerning this, it is unlawful in the congregation for a psalm to follow a psalm, but a lesson from the (sacred) books shall be between every psalm.

18. Concerning the prayers at nones and at vespers.

Concerning this, it is lawful for the same service of prayers to be set always both at the ninth hour and at vespers.

19. Concerning the prayer after the sermon and that it is right to take the eucharist in the sanctuary.

Concerning this, it is lawful after the sermon of the bishops that first a certain prayer for the catechumens shall be performed.

After the catechumens have departed, there shall be the prayer for those who are under penance.

After those who have been brought under the hand (of the bishop) have departed, there shall be three prayers for the believers: the first

[3] ܒܪܟܬܐ, blessings, presents, particularly the breads blessed — [4] ܒܢܝ ܩܝܡܐ, "sons of the covenant" — [5] *ψάλτης*.

* p. 119 * in silence, the second and the third to be fulfilled in the proclamation [6] with voice.

Then afterwards, the (kiss of) peace shall be given; and after the presbyters have given the (kiss of) peace to the bishops, then the lay people shall give it (to one another).

Then the holy offering is to be completed.

It is lawful for the priesthood alone to go to the altar and receive the eucharist, those who are in the clergy.

20. Concerning the honors due the presbyter by the deacons, and due deacons from those who stand (lower).

It is not lawful that the deacons shall sit before a presbyter, unless by the order of the presbyter (they are told) to sit down.

Likewise shall be the honor for the deacon from the attendants [7] and all the (inferior) clergy.

21. Concerning this, that the subdeacons shall be removed from the diaconicon.

It is not lawful for the attendants to be in the diaconicon and to touch the Lord's vessels.

22. Concerning this, that it is unlawful for the subdeacons to wear a stole.

It is unlawful for the subdeacon to put on a stole and to leave the doors.

23. Concerning this, that it is unlawful for the readers and chanters to carry out their orders with a stole.

It is unlawful for the *qārūyē* [8] and chanters to put on a stole and so read or sing.

24. Concerning this, that no one from the orders in the church shall eat in taverns.

It is unlawful for those who are in the sacerdotal order, from pres-
* p. 120 byters to deacons, and the rest of the ecclesiastical orders to subdeacons, readers, chanters, exorcists, * door keepers, or any of the class of the ascetics [9] to eat in a tavern.

25. Concerning this, that it is unlawful for the subdeacon to bless or give an eulogia.

It is unlawful for subdeacons to give the bread or to bless the cup.

[6] ܟܪܘܙܘܬܐ, heralding, proclamation, litany, commemoration — [7] ܫܡܫܢܐ, ὑπερέτης — [8] ܩܪܝܐ, a reader, reciter — [9] ܦܪܘܫܐ, continent, ascetic.

26. Concerning the exorcists, those who are appointed by the bishops.

It is unlawful for those who have not been appointed by the bishops, to adjure in churches or in (private) houses.

27. Regarding this, that it is unlawful to take from the agape [10] a portion of food.

It is unlawful for the priests or clerics or laymen, who are invited to an agape feast, to take away portions so that the ecclesiastical order shall not be smeared by shame.

29. Concerning this, that it is unlawful for banquets to be made in in the church.

In is unlawful to have those called agape in the temples of the Lord or in churches nor to eat and to spread out couches in the house (of God).

29. Concerning Christians who keep the Sabbath or who do something other in the Jewish (way).

It is unlawful for Christians to do something in the Jewish (way), and to rest on the Sabbath, but they shall work on that day and shall honor the Sunday; and, if they can, they shall rest as Christians. But if they are found to be Judaizers, they shall be anathematized by Christ.

30. Concerning those who bathe together with women.

It is unlawful for priests or clerics or ascetics to bathe together * with women in the bathhouses, and also not for Christian laymen, for this is the (very) first fault among the heathen. * p. 121

31. Concerning those who make marriage with heretics.

It is unlawful that they shall make marriages with all (kinds of) heretics, and to give our sons and daughters to them, but rather to take of them, if they promise that they will become Christians.

32. Concerning this, that it is unlawful to take an eulogia from the heretics.

It is unlawful to receive an eulogia of heretics — these are rather non-eulogiae [11] than eulogiae.

33. Concerning schismatics.

It is unlawful to pray with heretics or schismatics.

34. Regarding heretics who have become martyrs.

It is unlawful for every Christian to forsake the martyrs of Christ

[10] ܫܒܬܐ, rest, especially the agape, love feast — [11] ἀλογίαι.

and to go after false martyrs, those of the heretics, or those who formerly were heretics; for they are aliens from God. Those, who go after them, shall be anathematized.

35. Concerning those who serve angels.

It is unlawful for Christians to forsake the church of God, and to go and invoke angels, make gatherings, those that are abominable. If then, anyone is found engaged in this hidden idolatry, he shall be anathematized, because he has forsaken our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, and has joined idolatry.

36. Concerning those who have to do with incantations or amulets.

It is unlawful for the priests or the clerics to be magicians, enchanters diviners, or astrologers; nor shall they make what are called amulets, which are bonds for their own souls. But those who have to do with these, we command that they shall be cast out of the church.

* p. 122 * 37. Concerning those who receive (portions sent from) the feasts of the Jews or heretics.

It is unlawful to receive those (portions) sent from the feasts of the Jews or heretics, and to feast together with them.

38. Concerning Christians who eat unleavened bread.

It is unlawful to receive unleavened bread from the Jews, or to have fellowship in their wickedness.

39. Concerning Christians who feast together with the heathen.

It is unlawful to feast together with the heathen, and to have fellowship with their godlessness.

40. Concerning bishops who by invitation have been called to a synod.

It is unlawful for bishops called to a synod to despise (the invitations) but they shall go and shall teach or be taught for the reformation of the church and for those of the rest. But if such a one shall despise the same, he will abuse himself, except he be hindered by illness.

41. Concerning this, that the clerics shall not journey without letters.

It is unlawful for a priest or cleric to go on a journey, without the canonical letters.

42. Concerning this, that the clerics shall not journey without the (consent) of the bishop.

It is unlawful for a priest or a cleric to travel without the order of the bishop.

43. Concerning the continuance of the subdeacons at the doors.

It is unlawful for the subdeacons to leave the doors in order to engage in prayer, even for a short (time).

44. Concerning this, that it is not right for the women to enter the sanctuary.

* It is unlawful for women to go to the altar. * p. 123

45. Concerning those who are enrolled for baptism in the middle of the week.

It is unlawful after the second week in the fast of the forty [12] (days) for (the candidates) to be received for baptism.

46. Concerning this, that it is necessary for those who are to be baptized to learn (the creed of) the faith.

It is lawful for those who are to be baptized to learn (the creed of) the faith and to recite to the bishop or to the presbyter on the fifth day of the week of the end (of the fast).

47. Concerning those baptized in sickness.

It is lawful that those who in sickness receive baptism and afterwards are healed, to learn the creed and to know that they have been made worthy by the divine gift.

48. Concerning anointing after baptism.

It is lawful that those who are baptized shall be anointed after baptism with the heavenly anointment and be made partakers of the kingdom of God.

49. Concerning this, that the eucharist shall not be offered in the fast of the forty (days).

It is unlawful to offer the eucharist during the fast except only on the Sabbath day and on the Lord's day.

50. Concerning this, that the fast shall not be broken on the fifth day of the week of the great week.

It is unlawful to break the fast on the fifth day of the last week in the fast of the forty (days), and to dishonor the whole fast; but it is necessary to fast during all the fast of the forty (days) so that we eat (only) dry meats.

51. Concerning this, that it is unlawful to make commemorations of the martyrs.

It is unlawful to celebrate the nativities of martyrs in the (period of) the forty (days) but commemorations of the holy martyrs shall be made on the Sabbath and the Lord's day.

52. Concerning this, that it is unlawful to celebrate birthdays or banquets during the fast of the forty (days).

[12] Quadragesima.

* p. 124 * It is unlawful for banquets and birthday (celebrations) to take place during the fast of the forty (days).

53. Concerning this, that Christians shall not dance at a banquet.

It is unlawful for Christians, when they go to a banquet, to dance and beat the ground, but chastely to sup or dine as is becoming to Christians.

54. Concerning this, that it is unlawful for the clerics to see the mimes and ludicrous plays.

It is unlawful for the priest or the clerics to see something of the plays whether at a banquet or a supper; but, before the mimes enter, they shall rise and remove themselves thence.

55. Concerning this, that Christians by no means join together for drinking in clubs.

It is unlawful for the priests or clerics to club together for drinking, also not laymen.

56. Concerning this, that presbyters shall not enter the sanctuary before the bishop.

It is unlawful for presbyters before the entrance of the bishop to enter and sit in the bema, but they shall enter with the bishop, unless he is sick or away.

57. Concerning these who shall receive ordination in the villages.

It is unlawful for bishops to be appointed in villages or country districts, but periodeuts; and those then who have been already appointed shall do nothing without the consent of the bishop of the town.

In like manner, also presbyters shall do nothing without the consent of the bishop.

58. Concerning this, that it is unlawful to offer the eucharist in (private) houses.

It is unlawful for the eucharist, by bishops or presbyters, to take place in (private) houses.

59. Concerning those things that are lawful to recite and read in the church.

It is unlawful that private psalms by an individual (author) be read
* p. 125 in the church * and uncanonical books, except only the canonical (books) of the Old Testament and the New (Testament).

The canons of the Synod of Phrygia end (here).

[XIII]

THE SYNOD OF CONSTANTINOPLE
FOUR CANONS

In the ninth year, during the consulate of Eucherius and Euagrius, in the month of 'Āb [1] in the year 429 [2] according to the reckoning of the Antiochians [3], the bishops out of the different eparchies were assembled by the grace of God in Constantinople on the summons of the God-loving Emperor Theodosius, in connection with the ordination of Bishop Nectarius, and they have decreed :

1. Concerning this, that that which was decreed in Nicaea shall remain firm.

The faith and the canons of the three hundred and eighteen fathers who were assembled in Nicaea of Bithynia shall not be set aside but shall remain firm.

Every heresy shall be anathematized, particularly that of the Eunomians or Eudoxians and that of the Semi-Arians, of the Pneumatomachi and that of the Sabellians and that of the Marcellians and that of the Photinians and that of the Apollinarians.

2. Concerning the good order of the administration and of the primacy that belongs to Egypt, Antioch and Constantinople.

The bishops shall not go to churches beyond their boundaries for administration and shall not confuse the churches.

* But according to the canons the bishop of Alexandria shall administer only those of Egypt. * p. 126

However, the bishops of the East shall manage the East, the seniority of Antioch given in the canons of Nicaea being preserved.

The bishops of those administrations in Asia shall administer Asian affairs only ; those of Pontus only Pontic matters ; and those of Thracia shall administer only Thracian affairs.

Further, bishops not invited shall not go beyond their (area of) administration because of ordination or any other administration of other ecclesiastical affairs.

As the canon regarding the administrations of the countries, as has previously been written, is observed, it is fairly evident that in

[1] August — [2] In August 381 A.D. — [3] The era of the city of Antioch.

every eparchy its own synod administers (the affairs) of that eparchy, as was decreed in Nicaea.

However, the churches of God which are among the barbaric nations shall be administered according to the custom received from the fathers.

The bishop of Constantinople, however, shall have the seniority of honor after the bishop of Rome, because even it is new Rome.

3. Concerning the illegal ordination of Maximus.

Concerning Maximus, the cynic and the disorder which has happened in Constantinople because of him; we have ruled that Maximus never was, nor is, a bishop; that those who have received ordination from him belong to no order of the clergy whatever since all those (things) which have been done concerning him or those by him have become void.

In regard to the two tomes of the Westerners, the Antiochians have received those who confess the unity of the godhead of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.

* p. 127 * 4. Concerning those (matters) in which it is valid for accusations against the bishop and the clergymen to be accepted.

Since there are many wishing to trouble and overturn ecclesiastical orders inimically and slanderously fabricate certain charges against the orthodox bishops who administer the churches, and since they intend nothing else than to stain the reputation of the priests and to make disturbances against the peaceful people; therefore it seemed good to the holy synod of bishops assembled together in Constantinople that accusers are not to be admitted without examination and that not every person is to be permitted to make accusations against those who govern the churches, but (on the other hand) neither is everyone to be excluded.

If, then, anyone has some reproach to bring against the bishop, that is concerning his own (affairs), as for example that he has been violated by him or suffered something else beyond justice; in accusations like these, the person or the religion of the accuser shall not be examined; for it is by all means necessary that the conscience of the bishop shall become free and that he who says he has been wrong, of whatever religion he may be, shall be worthy of justice.

But if the charge brought against the bishop shall be an ecclesiastical offense, then it is right that the persons of the accusers shall be examined so that, in the first place, heretics shall not be entitled to make

accusations regarding ecclesiastical matters against orthodox bishops. And by heretics, we mean those who have been previously excommunicated from the church, and those who since then have been anathematized by ourselves and those who, professing to hold the sound faith, have torn (the unity) and have made gatherings against the bishops with whom we have fellowship.

Moreover, if there are people * who have been blamed for various reasons and cast out of the church or excommunicated from the clergy or the rank of laity, they also are not entitled to accuse the bishop before they have freed themselves of their own reproaches. * p. 128

In like manner, those who are under accusation — which they have had previously — are not to undertake the accusation of a bishop or other clergymen until they shall have proved themselves innocent of the charges brought against them.

If, furthermore, there shall be persons, being neither heretics nor excommunicated nor previously blamed nor previously accused for some sins, who declare that they have an ecclesiastical accusation against the bishop, the holy synod orders them first to move their accusations before all the bishops of the eparchy before whom they must prove the claims they have against the bishop.

And if it should happen that the bishops of this eparchy should be unable rightly to settle the blames brought against the bishop, then the (issues of the) parties shall be carried to the great synod of the bishops of that administration called together for this purpose; and they shall not move the accusation (made by) them before those who accuse shall have agreed in writing to accept an equal penalty to be exacted from themselves if the affair when examined, proves to be slanderous of the accused bishop.

But if anyone despises these things which have been made known and shall dare to annoy the ears of the king or approach the house of the judges of the worldly rulers or shall trouble the ecumenical synod, despising all the bishops of the eparchy, such a one shall by no means be accepted as an accuser, since he has shown contempt for the canons and perverted the nobility of the ecclesiastical order.

Here end the canons of the Synod of Constantinople.

* p. 129

* [XIV]

THE DECREE, I.E. THE CANON OF THE SYNOD WHICH WAS ASSEMBLED IN EPHESUS

The holy synod decreed that it is (not allowed) for any man to bring forward or to write or to set up a different faith besides that which was decreed by the holy fathers, these who were assembled with the Holy Spirit in Nicaea. Those, however, who dare to set up a different faith or to introduce or offer it to persons desiring to turn to the knowledge of the truth, whether from heathenism or from Judaism or from any heresy whatsoever, if these are bishops or clergymen, they shall become foreign, bishops to their episcopate and clergymen to the clergy. If they are laymen, they become anathematized.

Here ends (the canon).

[XV]

<THE CANONS> OF THE SYNOD OF THE BISHOPS WHO WERE GATHERED IN CHALCEDON

They have decreed those (canons) written below on the 25th of the *Tešrī qadīm* [1], in the year 763 of Alexander the Macedonian [2].

The twenty-seven canons of the Synod of Chalcedon.

1. On confirmation of all previous canons.

We have adjudged that the canons of the fathers in every synod until now shall be in force.

* p. 130 * 2. Concerning this, that it is unlawful for the sake of money to carry out ordinations or that one of the ecclesiastical offices may be given (on such a basis) or that a man can become so because of gifts in regard to such things.

If any bishop, for money, should confer ordination to the priesthood

[1] Or : precept.

[1] October — [2] In October 25, 451 A.D.

and put to sale a grace which cannot be sold and for money do the laying on of hands (and consecrates) a bishop or a chorepiscopus or a presbyter or a deacon or any other of those who are numbered among the clergy; or should he take money to make a *rab baitā* [3] or an advocate or a prosmonarios or any other who fulfills the order of the church for unclean profit; he who has done this and is convicted, shall be thrown out of his rank.

He who receives ordination from him shall profit nothing from a worldly ordination that takes place through purchase; he shall be foreign to his rank and the charge which was entrusted him through money.

And anyone who as a mediator is found (open) to unclean and unlawful gifts like these -- if he is a clergyman, he shall fall out from his rank, but if he is a layman or a monk, he shall be anathematized.

3. Concerning this, that it is unlawful for a clergyman to take care of foreign goods.

It has become known to the holy synod that certain ones of those who among the clergy, because of unclean profits, have become hirers of possessions not their own and perform secular dealings, neglecting the divine service, slipping into the houses of worldly persons and taking on themselves the managements of properties because of the love of money. Therefore, the great synod has determined that henceforth no bishop, no clergyman, or monk shall be a hirer of possessions not their own and shall not be engaged in the management of worldly possessions except he shall be called by the law to become an *'epīṭrūpā* [4] for those who * have not yet reached the age, since one cannot excuse one self from this (obligation), or unless the bishop of the town shall ask him to take care of ecclesiastical affairs or of orphans or of widows bereft of care and of persons who especially need ecclesiastical support because of the fear of our Lord. But if any one dares (to do so) hereafter and transgresses these (regulations) which have been decreed, he shall be subjected to ecclesiastical penalties. * p. 131

4. Concerning this, that it is unlawful for monks to do something outside the will of their bishop.

It is lawful that those who have chosen for themselves, indeed, truly and sincerely, the conversation of anchoretism and coenobitism shall be worthy of honor; but since certain persons using the habit [5] of monks

[3] ܪܒ ܒܝܬ, steward, manager — [4] ܐܦܝܛܪܘܦܐ, *ἐπίτροπος*, a guardian of orphans — [5] *σχῆμα*.

bring confusion upon the churches as well as into political affairs and roam around promiscuously in the towns and undertake to build monasteries of monks for themselves, (the synod) agreed that no one from any of the countries shall build a monastery or a prayer house to gather brothers contrary to the will of the bishop of the town.

Moreover, the monks who are in all towns and districts shall be subject to the bishop of them and shall love quietness and endure only in fasting and prayer and remain in the places in which they have been instructed. They shall not burden, meddle with, or participate in ecclesiastical or secular affairs. They shall not leave their monasteries except it happens that, because of urgent necessity, one of them shall be appointed by the bishop of the town.

No one in any one of the monasteries shall receive a slave to be instructed and to become a monk against the will of his master. But if there be one who transgresses this our judgment, we have decreed that this one shall be excommunicated, in order that the name of God shall not be blasphemed.

5. Concerning this, that it is unlawful for a clergyman to go about from church to church.

* p. 132 * Concerning those who go about from town to town, as a bishop or clergymen, (the synod) agreed that those canons set up on these (matters) by the holy fathers shall retain their force.

6. Concerning this, that it is unlawful to become a clergyman without the designation of a place.

No one shall receive ordinations to whom a place has not been appointed — no presbyter nor deacon nor any of those who are in the ecclesiastical order, unless the person receiving ordination is particularly announced and appointed in a church of a town or a village or a martyry or a monastery.

In regard to those who have received ordination without a place, the synod has decreed that such an ordination shall be void and that such a one shall not be able to serve in any place — to the shame of him who ordained them.

7. Concerning this, that it is unlawful for anyone from the orders of the church to become a secular.

We have decreed that those who have once become clerics or monks (shall not enter) (military) service or the secular rule; if they dare to do this and do not repent and turn again to that which they had first chosen for themselves because of God, they shall be excommunicated from the church.

8. Concerning this, that it is lawful for the martyries and monasteries and houses of the poor which are within the boundaries of the town to be under jurisdiction of the bishop.

Those clergymen who are in the poor houses or monasteries or martyries shall remain under the jurisdiction of the bishop of the town according to the tradition of the holy canons; they shall not rise in arrogance against the bishops but shall behave themselves according to their will.

Those, however, who dare in any way to abolish this * ordinance * p. 133 and will not be subject to their bishops, if they are clergymen they shall come under the judgment of the canons; and if they are monks or laymen, they shall be excommunicated.

9. Concerning this, that it is lawful for clergymen to have a law court before their bishop.

If there should occur a matter of a clergyman against a clergyman, his colleague, he shall not forsake his bishop and run to the secular courthouse, but he shall first tell and lay open his matter before his bishop or before those chosen by both parties according to the bishop's order. And if anyone shall act against there (decrees), he shall be subjected to the penalty of the canons.

But if a clergyman has a court proceeding against his bishop or another bishop, the judgment shall be made before the synod of the eparchy.

But if a bishop or a clergyman shall have a quarrel with the metropolitan of the eparchy, he shall go to the head of the diocese or to the throne of the imperial city of Constantinople before which it shall be tried.

10. Concerning this, that it is unlawful for a clergyman to be enrolled at the same time in two churches.

A clergyman shall not be entitled at the same time to be appointed in the churches of two towns, that is, that in which he has received ordination and that in which he afterwards — because it was greater and of reputation — sought refuge because of the lust of empty glory.

Those, however, who dare (to do) so shall be returned to the church in which they had previously received ordination and only there shall they be enrolled and they shall serve there.

Moreover, if anyone, prior to this decision, has gone from one church to another, he shall not be entitled to interfere with the administration of the affairs of the former churches or of the martyries or of the houses of the poor or of the hostels.

* p. 134 * Those who dare (to do so) after the order of the great and ecumenical synod to carry out something against these (rulings) that have been determined, the holy synod has decreed that they shall be dismissed from their ranks.

11. Concerning this, that it is lawful for those who are needy to be sent with pacifical [6] letters and not with letters of commendation [7].

We have decreed that all the poor needing alms, after examination of them with ecclesiastical letters and with (letters) pacifical, and not with letters of commendation, shall be sent (on their journeys); because letters commendatory, those called *sūsṭāṭīqā* [8], are to be given only to persons who have an excellent name and whose life is noble.

12. Concerning this, that it is unlawful for a bishop or metropolitan to be in possession of the imperial letters.

It has come to our attention that certain persons contrary to the ecclesiastical laws have run to the secular rulers, by means of an order of the kingdom, called *pragmaṭīqōs ṭūpōs* [9], have torn one eparchy into two so that there are consequently two metropolitans in one eparchy. Therefore, the holy synod has decreed that henceforth no one of the bishops shall dare to do something like this; he who despises and trespasses this decision shall be dismissed from his rank.

Those towns, however, which have already been honored by means of the imperial letters with the name of metropolitan sees shall have only the bare title while the rights are preserved to the town which in truth is the metropolis and the bishops who lead the churches in them.

* p. 135 * 13. Concerning this, that it is unlawful for clergymen without letters of commendation to serve in another place.

Strange clergymen or lectors without letters of commendation from their bishop shall not serve at all in another town.

14. Concerning this, that it is unlawful for clergymen according to the custom to marry heretics.

Since there are certain eparchies in which the lectors and singers are allowed to take wives, the holy synod has decreed that no one of them is allowed to take a wife who is from one of the heresies.

Those, whoever, who from a union such as this already have children, if they already have had their children baptized among the heretics, they shall bring them into the communion of the catholic church.

[6] ܥܕܘܝܬܐ, *εἰρηνική* — [7] ܣܘܢܛܐܛܝܩܘܢ, *συστατικός* — [8] *συστατικός* — [9] ܦܪܓܡܐ ܛܘܦܣ, *πρᾶγμα*.

But if they have not had them baptized, they are not entitled hereafter to baptize them among heretics and also shall not unite them in marriage with heretics or the Jews or heathens, unless the person marrying the orthodox shall promise to come over to the true faith. But if any one shall transgress this decree of the holy synod, he shall be subjected to the penalty of the canons.

15. Concerning this, that it is unlawful for a woman to receive the ordination of the deaconess before forty years of age.

A woman shall not become a deaconess before forty years of age, and this only after accurate examination.

If she has received the ordination and has continued for a certain time in the service and afterwards gives herself in marriage and despises God's gift, she who so acts shall be anathematized together with him who is united to her.

* 16. Concerning this, that it is unlawful for those who have promised virginity to enter marriage. * p. 136

A virgin who has dedicated herself to God, and in the same manner likewise also a monk, is not entitled to enter marriage.

If, however, they are found to have done this — she shall be excommunicated.

However, we have decreed that the bishops of their places shall have the power of indulgence towards them.

17. Concerning this, that it is unlawful for villages or churches to go from the administration of the town to another; its public order shall be sufficient for every town.

We have decreed that the parish of the villages in every eparchy shall so remain without agitation subject to the bishops who keep them.

If, in particular, he has kept and administered them for the period of thirty years, no man shall agitate anything against him. But if within these thirty years, there has been or may be any quarrel about them, it is legitimate for those who consider themselves aggrieved to bring their cause before the synod of the eparchy.

If anyone is wronged by his metropolitan in the matter, it shall be decided before the patriarch or before the bishop of Constantinople, as indicated above.

However, if any town has been newly erected or shall hereafter

10 ܚܕܝܐ, a singer, psalmist.

be (created) by the decree of the king, the order of the affairs of the church also shall follow the public administration which this town received.

18. Concerning this, that clergymen are not entitled to engage in conspiracies or to band together.

The crime of conspiracies by those who band together and become one clique is utterly prohibited, even by the secular laws, and how much the more is it right for us to forbid it in the church of God.

* p. 137 Therefore, if clergymen or monks should be found * conspiring together or making a clique or preparing a plot against the bishops or clergymen, they shall by all means fall from their ranks.

19. Concerning this, that it is lawful, according to the ancient custom, for the synod to be gathered in every eparchy twice a year.

It has come to our attention that in the eparchies — as is ordered by the canons — the synods of bishops are not held and that, on this account, many ecclesiastical affairs which need rectification are neglected; therefore, the holy synod has decreed according to the canons of the fathers that the bishops of every eparchy shall twice in the year be gathered together where the metropolitan deems it appropriate, and shall then rectify matters which may have arisen.

Bishops, however, who are not gathered (for the synod) but prefer to remain in their own town, though they are in good health and free from any cause of hindrance, shall be reproached.

20. Concerning this, that it is unlawful for a clergyman to move from one town to another.

As we have previously decreed, those clergymen who are appointed in one church are not entitled to be enrolled in the church of another town; they shall remain in that one in which they, in the beginning, received ordination, excepted are those who by necessity have been robbed of their countries and have gone to another church.

But, if, after this decree, any bishop shall be found receiving a clergyman belonging to another bishop, it has been agreed that both the one who received and the one who was received shall be excommunicated until the clergyman who has been received shall return to this place.

21. Concerning this, that it is unlawful for those who are not free of blame to accuse bishops and clergymen.

* p. 138 Clergymen and laymen who accuse bishops * or clergymen shall not be received simply and without examination regarding the accusa-

tion, but their own way of life shall first be ascertained and investigated.

22. Concerning this, that it is unlawful for clergymen after the death of their bishop to seize his belongings.

This synod has determined that clergymen (are not entitled) after the death of their bishop to seize his belongings, as has been determined also by the ancient canons; those who do so shall fall out of their ranks.

23. Concerning this, that it is lawful to expel clergymen and monks from Constantinople who have no business there.

This holy synod has heard that certain clergymen and monks, to whom nothing is entrusted from their bishop and who sometimes, indeed, are even under excommunication, go to Constantinople and remain there for a long time, disturbing and terrifying the peace of the church and turning men's houses upside down. Therefore the synod has decreed that such persons be reminded by the advocate of the church of Constantinople to depart from the imperial town.

However, if they shall abide in the same practices, being audacious, they shall be expelled by the advocate even against their will and they shall return to their places.

24. Concerning this, that it is lawful for monasteries forever to remain monasteries and that they shall not become dwellings for seculars.

Monasteries which have been separated for, and consecrated to, God with the consent and permission of the bishop shall remain monasteries forever and the goods belonging to them shall be preserved for them. It shall never be possible again for them to become dwellings for the seculars. And those who permit this to be done shall be liable to the penalties of the canons.

* 25. Concerning this, that it is unlawful for the church to be widowed of the bishop for a long time. * p. 139

Since certain of the metropolitans, so we have heard, neglect the flocks entrusted to them and delay the ordinations of bishops, it has seemed proper to the holy synod that the ordination of a bishop shall take place within three months; if an inevitable necessity should require it the time of delay may be extended. Further, should they not do so, they are liable to ecclesiastical penalties. The income, however, of the widowed church shall be kept safe by the steward of the same church.

26. Concerning this, that it is lawful for every church which has a bishop to be managed by a steward [11] who is from its own clergymen.

Since we have heard that there are certain churches in which the bishops manage the ecclesiastical goods without stewards, it has been agreed that every church having a bishop shall also have a steward from among its own clergy and he shall manage its goods according to the will and also according to the command of the bishop.

This is so that the management of the church shall not be without a testimony, also that the goods of the church may not be squandered and the priesthood receive slander; but if he will not do this, he shall be subjected to the ecclesiastical canons.

27. Concerning this, that it is unlawful that there shall be marriages by the force of robbings.

The synod has decreed that those who rob women under pretense of marriage and the aiders or abetters of such robbers shall fall out from their ranks if they are clergymen, and, if laymen, they shall be anathematized.

Here end the canons of the Synod of Chalcedon.

* p. 140

* [XVI]

QUESTIONS PRESENTED TO THE HOLY TIMOTHEUS THE GREAT, THE PATRIARCH OF ALEXANDRIA

1. [1]Question. If a person, while he is an auditor happens to be in a place where the sacrifice is being offered and he receives it by an oversight [2], what should properly happen to him?

Answer. It is proper that he be baptized, for he has been called by God.

2. Should a person who has a demon in him be baptized, at least when he is on the verge of dying?

Answer. Unless he shall first be cleansed from the impure spirit, it is not proper to be baptized if death is not imminent; but if he be close to death, he shall be baptized.

[11] See p. 131, footnote 3.

[1] Since the numbering has become confused, the cycle bears 29 numbers — the normal numeration, found in manuscripts, is introduced here — [2] Lit. without knowledge.

3. If a believer has a demon, is it lawful for him to approach in order to receive the holy mysteries or not?

Answer. If he does not despise the mysteries and does not blaspheme in any other way, he may approach — however not always but (only) on the days of the feasts.

4. If a man who is an auditor becomes ill and insane so that he is unable to confess the faith, is it lawful to baptize him before he dies or not?

Answer. If he is not tempted by an impure spirit, it is proper for him to be baptized.

* 5. If a man and his wife have intercourse, is it lawful for them to approach the holy mysteries or not? * p. 141

<Answer.> It is unlawful for them (to approach) the mysteries on the same day for the divine apostle says, "Do not deprive one another except when both agree for a season that you may devote yourselves for fasting and prayer, but then come together again, lest Satan tempt you because of a longing of your bodies" [3].

6. If a woman has given her name in order to be baptized and on the day of baptism she has her monthly course, is it lawful for her to be baptized or shall she be postponed? How long should she be postponed?

Answer. It is lawful that she should be postponed until she becomes purified.

7. If a faithful woman has her monthly course, is it lawful for her to approach in order to receive the holy mysteries on the same day or not?

Answer. It is unlawful that she approach before she becomes purified.

8. When a woman gives birth in the great week of the Passion, is it lawful for her to fast and not to drink wine or dissolve (the fast) because she has given birth?

Answer. The fast causes the body to weaken; therefore, if the body is weakened by illness and weakness, it is lawful to support it so that by food and drink it might be sustained.

9. Is it lawful for a cleric to pray in the presence of the Arians or other heretics, or is there no harm when he makes the prayer, i.e., the sacrifice (of the Eucharist)?

* Answer. At the time of the sacred offering, at the moment when * p. 142

[3] I Cor. VII, 5.

the peace (is given), the deacon shouts : "Let those leave who do not participate" [4]. It is unlawful, therefore, for them to stay if they do not confess that they are repentant and are fleeing from their heresy.

10. If a man has become sick and his body withers from a long illness and the week of the Passion arrives, is it lawful for a cleric to permit him use of wine and oil on account of his illness or not?

Answer. He shall be let loose; it is lawful to permit the one who is sick to use food and drink so that he will be sustained.

11. If a man call on a cleric to pray at an illegal marriage meal, is it lawful for him to go or not?

Answer. If he learns that it is an illegal marriage, it is unlawful for him to go in order that he not participate in foreign sins.

12. If a layman has a nocturnal pollution and he consults a cleric, is it lawful to advise him to receive the offering or not?

Answer. If he heretofore has the desire for a wife, it is unlawful; but if Satan tempts him in order to prevent him from the reception of the holy mysteries for this reason, it is lawful that he approach (the communion) for the tempter does not cease from tempting him every moment when he must approach (the communion).

13. And those who are in the union of marriage, on which day must we exhort them again that they abstain from marital (union) and on which (day) to have intercourse?

Answer. That what I did say above, I repeat here again. Let the
* p. 143 holy Apostle say : * "Do not deprive one another except when both agree for a season, that you may devote yourselves to fasting and prayer; but then come together again, lest Satan tempt you because of the longing of your bodies" [5]. Therefore, it is necessarily lawful that they abstain from (marital) intercourse on Saturday and Sunday because on these days the spiritual sacrifice is offered to God.

14. If a man who has no mind commits suicide, throwing himself (from a precipice) and dies thus, is it lawful that a sacrifice shall be offered for him or not?

Answer. It is necessary for the cleric to investigate accurately whether it is true that he has done so while without mind; if it has happened because of the feebleness of the spirit or because of some suffering and his relatives lie and say that he had no mind in order that they might have the sacrifice (offered), it is unlawful that there be

[4] At the beginning of the *missa fidelium* — [5] I Cor. VII, 5.

a sacrifice for him because he committed suicide. Therefore, it is necessary for a cleric to search accurately in order not to fall under blame.

15. There is a woman who has a demon and she suffers greatly even to the extent that (it becomes necessary) to put her into chains and her husband says that he cannot endure (it any longer) and demands (permission) to take (another wife).

Answer. Adultery appears in (this) affair, and therefore I do not give answer.

Here end the canons.

[XVII]

OF THE HOLY MAR SEVERUS FROM THE LETTER TO CAESARIA HYPATISSA [1]

The beginning of it is: "Again, God shall be the beginning of this letter".

You are acting well and as is fitting to women who obey piety * in asking everything without shame, for there is one thing only that brings shame: this is if through sin we fall (into conflict) with God's laws, and shall be under the judgment of the divine wrath. * p. 144

Know, therefore, that it is not lawful for a woman who has the usual flow of blood to participate in the divine communion until the coming of blood stops.

In like manner in the case of one who has had the intercourse of the chaste bed with the legitimate husband, it is not of piety that after the intercourse she should for the period of a day receive the most mysterious food — for these things increase men's awe and clearness of vision towards piety and the worship of God.

For in the apostolic commandments something like this is written about the widow who is appointed in the churches: "But, after she has become (consecrated) as has been said, she shall not be concerned with anything, but shall be alone for the sake of undisturbed prayers. For solitude is the foundation of holiness and of life to such a widow, for she has no (other) pleasure, except the God of gods, the Father in heaven."

[1] ὑπατίσσα.

"But at fixed times she shall give praise apart, at night and in the morning."

"If she shall be (in her monthly) course, she shall remain in the church, but she shall not approach the altar; not that she is polluted, but because honor is due to the altar."

But we have (also) adduced the answers of the blessed and saintly Timotheus the Great, bishop of Alexandria, who was at the time of the Synod of the One-hundred-Fifty Bishops, who is in the agreement
* p. 145 in the instruction concerning these (matters) — * such as the apostles write to us; regarding the present point they order as follows.

"Question five [2]: If a woman be with her husband that night, is it lawful that she shall receive or not?"

"Answer: It is not lawful that they shall receive immediately, since the apostle proclaims: 'Deprive not one another unless it be by agreement for a time' — but by "time" he means that which is (spent) on communion—'that you may have time for prayers, and come together again, in order that Satan shall not tempt you concerning the lust of your incontinence'." [3]

"And again, question seven [4]: If a woman in (our) religion has the custom of women, is it lawful that she shall approach the mysteries on the same day or not?"

"Answer: It is not lawful until she shall cleanse (herself)."

Therefore, it is lawful for a woman of piety who is about to receive of the divine communion that she shall prepare herself in advance before that day, and shall abstain from the legitimate bed for the honor of the body and blood of God.

The end.

[XVIII]

AGAIN THE CANONS WHICH WERE DECREED BY THE VENERABLE JŌḤANNĀN BAR QURSOS, BISHOP OF TELLĀ DE-MAUZELAT, IN ORDER THAT THOSE WHO ARE PRIESTS SHALL OBSERVE THEM, PARTICULARLY THOSE WHO ARE IN THE VILLAGES.

A preface to the canons. God the Creator and the Lord of all the crea-
* p. 146 tures visible and invisible leaned (toward us) in His * great goodness

[2] See p. 139, nº 5 — [3] I Cor. VII, 5 — [4] See p. 139, nº 7.

and in His rich mercies and formed man from the ground [1], and inhaled in him the breath of life [2] and made him according to His image and His resemblance [3] and placed him in paradise [4]. He gave him a commandment. And if he would have observed this he would have stayed in life immortal [5]. Moses, too, the chief of the prophets (at the time) when the people of Israel were prepared to enter and inherit the land that God had promised to his fathers, namely, to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, repeated to them the law which he had received from God [6], and he testified to them that in the observance of the divine commandments their days would be multiplied in the land which had been promised to them.

It must be in like manner today when I also transmit to you these commandments which are not my own but are taken from the power of the sacred books and the canons of the fathers. And also the holy Apostle was writing to the Corinthians : "If anyone is among you who thinks that he is a prophet or spiritual one, he would realize that these things that I am writing to you are commandments of our Lord" [7].

Also you are prepared not to enter the land that gives physical fruits [8], but the spiritual paradise and you ascend to a holy altar. You have been planted into the land of life, you celebrate the heavenly mysteries and you have been entrusted with a ministry of the Spirit. If you shall serve as is proper, you pass over from there into the kingdom of heaven — for this is the reward of it. Moreover, it is not so that I only transmit to you this deposit, but I also demand from you the promise that you will observe it in order that I may have confidence on the day when Christ, the Lord of the universe, comes and reclaims (with interest) this money which I put on the table of your obedience.

The first canon. Promise now before God if you wish to observe above all the norm * of faith which the assembly of three hundred and * p. 147 eighteen holy fathers, those gathered in Nicaea, set up through the Holy Spirit and transmitted to all the churches under heaven, to anathematize all heresies condemned since the days of the holy apostles until the time of our venerable fathers (namely) Mār Severus, patriarch of Antioch, Mār Philoxenos, bishop of Mabbūg, and particularly the Synod of Chalcedon and the letter [9] of Leo and that of Julian of Halicarnassus, that you have no fellowship with their adher-

[1] Gen. II, 7 — [2] Gen. II, 7 — [3] Gen. I, 27 — [4] Gen. II, 8 ff. — [5] Gen. II, 9 — [6] Exod. XIX, 7 ff. — [7] I Cor. XIV, 37 — [8] Lit. bodily — [9] τόμος.

ents. For the sake of the truth receive all sufferings readily even unto death according to the apostolic word : "For it behoves you that in perseverence you must run this race looking to Jesus who is the pioneer and the perfector of their faith who, for the sake of joy that was set before Him, endured the cross". [10]

The second. Do not eat with the heretics and receive no blessing from them, for their right (hand) [11] is the right (hand) of the wicked one; and do not give them a blessing, for it is written; "When the impious is blessed — the Lord is irritated" [12].

The third. A priest shall not use an anathema except only against the heretics in accordance with what the holy apostle, who has instructed us, says : "If anyone proclaims to you beyond what we have proclaimed to you, let him be accursed" [13].

4. The fourth. Do not impose suspension because of secular affairs, but only on those who offend in spiritual matters and neglect the commandments of God. And this for the redemption of their lives; as this happened to that one who fornicated at Corinth on which matter the blessed apostle writes : "Deliver this man over to Satan for the destruction of his body that in the spirit he may be saved on the day of our Lord Jesus Christ" [14]. However, this shall take place (only) after many and laborious warnings in patience * and (after) much time (has been allowed). In order to say this briefly — anyone who wants to avenge himself shall not impose suspension.

* p. 148

The fifth. A canon established by the fathers in the church [15] puts under the anathema everyone who through a bribe receives ordination for the priesthood, the one who accepts and the one who is the mediator in the bribe. They fall under the condemnation given by Peter, the prince of the apostles, on Simon the Sorcerer, who brought it out saying : "Your money together with you shall go to perdition, because you thought that the gift of God could be acquired through worldly possessions" [16]. See to it then that no one among you will fall under the punishment of this canon.

The sixth. An old commandment teaches us not to swear falsely by the name of the Lord God [17]. Our Lord, however, in His Gospel as He gave this perfect commandment to His disciples, said : "Do not swear at all, but your words should be, Yes, Yes and No, No;

[10] Hebr. XII, 1 ff. — [11] Lit. right hand — [12] Ps. X, 3 — [13] Gal. I, 9 — [14] I Cor. V, 5 — [15] Canons of the Apostles 28, see page 75 — [16] Acts VIII, 20 — [17] Lev. XIX, 12.

anything more than these is from the evil one" [18]. Therefore, this sort of evil should not be found among you, that you employ the oaths, but according to the word of our Lord, your words shall be, Yes, Yes, and No, No.

The seventh. A canon of the fathers orders that the priest should not move from one altar to another altar but that everyone, where he has been called, there shall he persevere; therefore, no one shall transgress this canon.

The eighth. We have heard that impudent and ignorant men, who have not learned to distinguish the sacred (from the profane), dare to bring to the altar loaves (in a quantity) more than required by the congregation of the church or of the monastery; and, also, the cup in the same manner. After the consecration and the distribution, they precipitate in the manner of animals without intelligence and eat the rest. They have prepared all this in advance in order to satisfy their ferocious passion. This is (a matter of) guilt and accusation against them for having degraded the spiritual nourishment to the nourishment of their bodies. Therefore I admonish you that you not be seized * by this sin, but ascertain the number of persons who (want to) receive * p. 149 (communion) and consecrate only what is required of the loaves. Put into the cup half wine and half water. (Then) the little pearls [19] shall be prepared. When it happens that there are more fragments (left over), they shall be gathered carefully and collected and shall be given on other days.

Take care also in handling the cup so that nothing remains in it. For, if a little remains of the blood, and at that moment there is further need, it is always possible to add what is not consecrated to that which is in the cup and to give from it to those who want to receive.

This is why it is proper that that which suffices shall be consecrated. This is what we learned from the sacred books. The second book of the Law tells us about the lamb that is the type of that Lamb of Truth : "A man according to the sufficiency of his eating shall make account for the lamb" [20]. Also about the manna given to the sons of Israel in the desert which was the mystery of that bread of holiness that came from heaven. It says : "Gather of it from day to day a measure for each head of you; everyone shall gather for his family and do not

[18] Matth. v, 34. 37 — [19] *μαργαρίτης*, eucharistic particle — [20] Cf. Exod. xii, 4 — [21] Cf. Exod. xvi, 16. 19 — [22] Matth. v, 15.

leave it until morning" [21]. It thereby teaches us that only according to the quantity of the people present should we offer the oblation.

The ninth. Our Lord says : "Do not light the lamp and put it under a bushel or under a couch, but on a stand in order that those who enter shall see its light" [22]. It is right, therefore, that the light of the priesthood shall be placed on excellent and noble actions. Elevate therefore in everything through your actions beyond the flock of the world in order that the priest would not be as the people and the people like the priest [23]. Do those things (that contribute) to edification and do not become a cause, a scandal, to anyone by excessive food for which you do not have need, particularly in the eating of meat; for the blessed
* p. 150 apostle has said : "If on account * of eating meat my brother is scandalized, I will never eat meat in order not to scandalize my brother" [24]. This is not because we pronounce meat impure and for this reason despise its eating, for we know that all that God has created is good, but we seek for that which is for edification. We also use a little wine for the sake of our health and not for drunkenness according to the commandment of the apostle to Timothy as he says : "Drink a little wine for the sake of your stomach and your frequent ailments" [25].

It is right for you to have fasts and chastizements, for those who are mediators between God and the people, as we can learn from these things that are written about Moses, Daniel, John and the rest of the saints.

The tenth. A canon of the fathers orders that the priest shall not receive usury [26]. The divine law offers the same prohibition when it says : "Do not multiply for your brother usury of corn, wine, oil and anything that (can be lent) for usury" [27]. The prophet Ezekiel speaks also in the same way when he says : "He does not lend at interest and takes no usury"[28]. Among other things, David says in the Psalms on the one who is worthy to dwell in the tabernacle of the Lord : "That one who does not put out his money at interest" [29]. Therefore no one among you from this day forward shall take interest, not through himself or through a mediator with the result that he would fall under the punishment of this canon.

The eleventh. Those who have taken it upon themselves to live a monastic life, it is evident that they have made [30] the promise of the

[23] Isa. xxiv, 2 — [24] I Cor. viii, 13 — [25] I Tim. v, 23 — [26] Can. 17 of Nicaea, see page 100 — [27] Cf. Deut. xxiii, 20 — [28] Ezech. xviii, 8 — [29] Ps. xv, 5 — [30] Lit. promised.

way of life of the angels to live for Christ. For this life of another world they have moved from towns and villages to the lonely monasteries. According to their promise, then, it is right always to live in the truth and in the life elevated above marriage. For carnal Israel when it was prepared to go out to meet God on the Mount of Sinai, * it received an order through Moses that they should be sanctified and to wash their garments and not to approach wives [31]. How much more is it right for this monastic garment always to be in holiness. On this account not only does he (i.e., a monk) go out to approach God, but he also crucifies himself to the world and its lusts in order that Christ may dwell and live in him. Therefore, one who is a monk and has intercourse with the world shall not dare to receive the laying on of hands for the priesthood. But in order that every suspicion may be removed from you, the monks, women shall not enter your monasteries. Decorate yourselves not with the hidden works but also with those which are visible : therefore put on the tunics of hair that the sorrow of the suffering of our Lord shall always be seen through you; and so do we find many saints who in this humble garment approach God, so that they may find mercy for themselves and for their people. * p. 151

Receive strangers diligently for the apostle thus said when he was urging the Hebrew brothers in this way : "The love of brothers shall stay in you and you shall not forget the love of the strangers for in this way some have become worthy to receive angels unaware" [32].

The twelfth. Also, you priests of the villages, reserve from now on a place in the church for the reception of strangers and the poor in imitation of the inns which are in the towns.

Here the necessary things should be placed for the use of strangers. Take from the possessions of the church and from your own that which is necessary for this sustenance.

See to it that the inhabitants of the village also join in partnership with you on this matter and remember the blessed Lot * who as a recompense for his hospitality was salvaged from the fire that fell on the Sodomites because they were deprived of love for the strangers. Protect also the poor, orphans and widows. * p. 152

The thirteenth. We have learned that certain priests, not having learned well (the liturgy) of the offering of the oblation, go audaciously

[31] Cf. Exod. xix, 10, 14-15 — [32] Hebr. xiii, 1-2.

on and ascend (to the altar) in that terrible moment in order to offer the oblation, praying, and they become troubled and a cause of laughter and improper murmurs at the moment (of awe) among those who are gathered.

No person shall dare to do something like this, but must (first) learn the (whole ritual) of the eucharist having recited it before someone who knows it well.

The fourteenth. We have learned that it is a custom in the villages where there are priests that they give certain gifts to the church as "presents of the priesthood" and that they also give some other gift to the inhabitants of the village as compensation [33] of their recent (ordination) into priesthood.

It has occurred in certain villages that one has abandoned poor men — those for whom the hand of ordination would be appropriate according to their religion and the status of their years — because they are not able to give a present of installation [34]. Those who are the mediators present young men and rich which is not their place. It seems to us that this practice is not far from the sin of those who (have been elected) by a bribe. One formidable canon has been set up by the fathers on this subject. Inasmuch as we want to save (anyone) from a sin like this, those who often fall without having conscience, we order you not to do this any longer but also to join the present which you have made (until now) to the village to your custom of giving to the church.

If there is a lack in books, you shall buy the sacred books with both (the gifts).

* p. 153 * If there are (the necessary) books, they shall be for the expenses of the temple, of the poor, and of the necessities.

These gifts shall be placed into the hands of a man who has the confidence of the entire village in order that the conscience (of everybody) will be pure in everything. (Indeed,) we have not found priests being from God who pay a tribute to the people. On the contrary, they collect the tenth and the first produce and they receive presents from the people and offer for them to God. It is good, therefore, also, that the present already made to the people by the priests shall be offered to God in order that it might become a blessing for them and for all the people.

[33] Lit. banquet — [34] Lit. banquet.

The fifteenth. The priests shall not drink wine at the banquets with the seculars but when they are invited according to the custom in order to bless those who make a banquet, they shall enter, give benediction and shall admonish them to keep watch, refraining from gluttony and drunkenness and from profane words and quarrel, that they may recall what was said by the apostle : "So whether you eat or drink or whatever you do, do all to the glory of God" [35]. They shall pray, shall sign them with the sign of the cross, and shall leave and shall take [36] nothing with them.

The sixteenth. The faith of the holy bishops of the three-hundred-and-eighteen fathers must be recited with a loud voice by the whole assembly every Sunday at the moment when the priests ascend to offer the oblation after the doors are closed. It is also proper at the moment of the commemoration of the vivifying death of our Savior, Jesus Christ, and in a moment of His glorious resurrection to recite the confession.

It is proper that this should be done by all the people.

The seventeenth. All the people must be ordered to remain at the time of the consecration. For since troops of angels come for the honoring * of the celestial King to the place where He is being sacrificed through the hands of the faithful priests, how much more is it proper for those for whom the sacrifice is offered to gather in order that they also might receive the remission of debts and forgiveness of sins. It is not pleasing that, at the moment the voice of the priest separates those who do not bear the seal (of baptism) [37], also the sons of the church separate themselves (by leaving) and place their part alongside of the pagans who are not worthy to know and to see the mysteries of God.

* p. 154

The eighteenth. It shall be said continually in the evening and in the morning, "Holy art Thou, O God, holy art Thou O Almighty, holy art Thou, O Immortal, who hast been crucified for us, have pity on us", for this praise is that of the seraphim.

The nineteenth. This Psalm, "Blessed are those..." [38], has to be recited continually and (also) the doxology of Moses [39]. It has often been requested that they should recite them and they do not know (them), producing the excuse that "we have not had the custom of reciting

[35] I Cor. x, 31 — [36] Lit. tasting — [37] Lit. sign — [38] Ps. cxix — [39] Exod. xv, 1-19.

it in the church, not (even) the doxology of Moses". Indeed, these have been spoken also through the Spirit of God and they instruct us in summary fashion regarding all excellence.

The twentieth. The churches shall be open at mid-day and the services shall be held in them. For the psalmist says through the Spirit of God, "I cry to God and God will redeem my soul" [40], in the evening, morning, and the noon day. And it is written on Daniel that he was offering the prayer to God three times a day [41].

The twenty first. In the week that precedes the great week, the baptistery shall be open after the service of matins.

You shall go — with the Psalms and the *qālē* of spiritual praises [42] which are proper for this — serving in it and praying and shall depart. For it is right to honor in advance that mother of life before the coming of her spiritual day [43].

* p. 155 The twenty second. But the week that is after it is * the great week during which the mysteries were accomplished, the redemption of men established, the ruler of this world condemned, sin rendered naught, and the power of death paralyzed through our Lord Jesus Christ. So then it is right for us to honor these days with all our strength, (and) with all our soul through a longer service night and day. We shall read the *mēmrē* of the fathers in the night and we shall recite *madrāšē* composed on the passion of our Savior.

From the ninth hour until the service of the evening, the sacred Scriptures shall be read.

The twenty third. But the week which is after is the week of the vivifying resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ during which the first born of the dead began to be seen and manifestly gave a hope of the new life. So then this entire week, from Sunday to Sunday, shall be honored through the service and through the reading of the sacred books and through the lights. The sacrifices shall be offered on every one of these eight days.

The twenty fourth. Every Sunday the sacred books of the Old and New Testament shall be read, for, "Every book which is called by the Spirit is profitable for warning, for correction and instruction" [44].

If there are no brothers capable of reading the Old Testament

[40] Ps. LV, 16-17 — [41] Dan. VI, 11.13 — [42] The chants of praises — [43] Saturday, the day of baptism — [44] II Tim. III, 16.

and the New, those who are there shall read all the books which remain. In order to put it briefly : if there is only one priest in the village and there are no brothers, he shall read (the books).

The twenty fifth. Every rank shall render the honor which it is obliged (to give) to the rank that is superior to it. For the divine law orders one to rise before an aged one and to honor that one who is older than you and to fear God [45].

Those, however, whose ranks are more elevated than those of their companions must also provide the lead through their excellent actions in order to give a beautiful example to those who stand after them.

The twenty sixth. A beautiful appearance [46] and order must always be found among you in chaste dress and sober walking.

Be excellent in all your * behavior and (also) in the peace of the holy kiss, for also the holy apostle has given orders about this subject [47]. * p. 156

The twenty seventh. Advise the seculars to bring up their children in the instruction and teaching of our Lord according to the apostolic precept [48].

Those who have children dedicated to the *qeyāmā* shall give them a decent garment from their childhood so that they do not become (used to the) luxury of white linen garments.

They shall be sent into the monasteries to read books and to learn the conduct of the fear of God. For if many send their children to far off countries because of the instruction of this world, how much more fitting is it for those who have set apart and offered their children to God that they are to send them into the holy monasteries for spiritual wisdom.

On these (matters), which have seemed right to us, (we have held) it to be proper to order for you (to follow) at this time because we have learned that in this matter there are many transgressions among you. We, however, exhort [49] you above all and adjure in everything to be uplifted in the faith, in the hope and in the love which are the foundation and the bond for perfection, for such is the will of God "who desires that all men shall live and turn to the knowledge of the truth" [50].

Here end the twenty-seven canons.

[45] Lev. XIX, 32 — [46] σχῆμα — [47] Cf. Rom. XVI, 16; I Cor. XVI, 20; II Cor. XIII, 12; I Thess. V, 26 — [48] Cf. Eph. VI, 4 — [49] Lit. testify — [50] I Tim. II, 4.

[XIX]

CANONS CONCERNING THE ORDER OF MONKS OF HOLY MĀR RABBŪLĀ, BISHOP OF THE TOWN OF 'ŪRHĀI

1. The first canon. Above all, the monks shall exercise due care that women never enter their monasteries.

* p. 157 2. The brothers of the monastery shall not enter the villages, * except only the *sā'ūrē* [1] of the monastery observing the order of chastity.

3. The *sā'ūrā* [2] who enters a village or a town shall not go around to the guest houses and pass the night with the secular people, but in the church or monastery, if there is one near.

4. The monks shall not drink wine so that they will not blaspheme; but especially are they to take pains that they do not buy and drink.

5. The monks shall not grow hair and put on iron or hang something (on themselves), except those only who confine themselves and do not enter or go out of the place.

6. The *sā'ūrē* who go out on business of the monastery shall not put on garments of hair nor shall any of the brothers outside the monastery do so, so that they may not despise the honor of the monastic garb [3].

7. None of the monks shall distribute oil and especially not to women; however, if there is one who evidently has the charisma, he shall give oil to men. When there are women who are in want, it shall be sent to them through their husbands.

8. The commemoration feasts in the monastery shall not take place with a gathering of the people, but only with the brothers of this monastery.

9. The monks shall not possess the goods of sheep and of goats or of horses or mules or of other animals, except for one donkey for those who need it, also one yoke of oxen for those who seed (the field).

10. Books which are outside the faith of the church shall not be in the monasteries.

11. There shall be no business affairs of buying and selling in the monasteries, except only for that which is sufficient for their needs, without greediness.

[1] Overseers, visitors — [2] Overseer, visitor — [3] σχῆμα.

12. No one of those brothers who are in the monastery shall possess anything privately for himself besides that which * belongs to the * p. 158 community of brothers and is under the authority of the *rīšdairā* [4].

13. The *rīšai dairātā* shall not allow the brothers to meet with their relatives nor allow them to leave and go to them in order that they will not relax (in their zeal).

14. The brothers shall not leave their monasteries under the pretext of sicknesses and roam in the towns and villages, but shall endure their pains in the monasteries for the sake of the love of Christ.

15. The monks shall not leave their residence and take on themselves a lawsuit on behalf of the poor and go into the towns to the judges.

16. The monks shall not under the pretext of occupations or works neglect the times (appointed) for going to the worship service, day and night.

17. They shall receive strangers lovingly and shall not close the doors in the face of one of the brothers.

18. No one shall dwell in isolation, except he who has given proof regarding his life over a long period of time.

19. No one of the monks shall give answers from the (sacred) books to anyone.

20. No one of the brothers, if he be not a presbyter or a deacon, shall dare to give the eucharist.

21. As for those who have become priests and deacons from the monasteries and to whom churches in the villages are to be entrusted, the *rīšai dairātā* [5] in their monastery, shall appoint those who have shown proof and are able to guide the brotherhood; and those shall remain in their churches.

22. Bones of the martyrs shall not be found in the monasteries, but everyone who has them shall bring them to us; certainly if they be genuine, they shall be honored in the martyries, but if not, that they may be placed in the cemetery.

23. Those of the monks who wish to make urns [6] of the dead * for * p. 159 themselves shall hide them in the ground so that these shall not be seen at all.

24. When a brother or a *rīšdairā* of one of the monasteries departs from this world, only those brothers of that very monastery shall bury him in quietness. If they are not sufficient (in strength), they

[4] An abbot — [5] Abbots — [6] ܓܘܪܢܐ, γοῦρνα.

shall call brothers from the monastery that is near to them to be with them. However, they shall not gather women from the villages and lay people for the procession.

25. If one shall sell the crop for the benefit of the monastery, he shall not take anything more than (the price) at market value at the time of that threshing season in the land — so he shall sell in such a way that he will not covet on behalf of the monastery.

26. No one shall receive a brother who moves from monastery to monastery without a word (of assignment) from the *rīšdairā* with whom he stayed.

Here end the canons regarding the order of the monks.

[XX]

THE ECCLESIASTICAL CANONS WHICH WERE GIVEN BY THE HOLY FATHERS DURING THE TIME OF PERSECUTION

Qōnsṭanṭīnā, Anṭūnīnā, Tūmā, Pelag, 'Euṣṭat, holy bishops who, during the persecution, were in the town of Alexandria during the life of the late Patriach Mār Severus and when Patriarch Theodosius was on his throne, in the thirteenth year that is called "Indiction" by the Greeks.

Question 1. How must we receive those clerics who return to us from the heresy of the two natures?

The answer. If they have received ordination from the orthodox priests and it so happened that they (afterwards) joined the heretics
* p. 160 whether by necessity or by transgression * and subsequently returned to us, documents [1] — which contain the statement of excuse — must be required (to the effect) that they confess the right faith, anathematize and reject those against it; and they shall immediately be judged worthy of the reception of the holy mysteries. They shall abide one year without the sacerdotal ministry and after the completion of the year, if they shall have demonstrated a veritable penitence, they shall then be judged worthy of the ministry in the rank which had been bestowed on each of them.

[1] ܟܬܒܐ, *libellus*.

But those who have received ordination from the heretics and then abandon them and return to us on account of the salvation of their souls, they likewise shall make documents and immediately be judged worthy of the reception of the holy mysteries; however, they shall remain two years without the sacerdotal ministry and after the completion of these two years, if they have remained in penitence and have demonstrated that this was genuine, an office shall be permitted to them by the head of the priests — who stand at the head of our orthodox church in the countries where they are — to each of them according to the rank to which he was elevated at the time of ordination.

Question 2. Is it allowed orthodox monks who are persecuted — since they do not have monasteries — to go and dwell in the martyries kept by those of two natures? Is it proper to perform services there?

The answer. When these friends of God, persecuted monks, are in want of lodging and enter and dwell in these martyries of which you speak, they shall make their services (there) — for not even a single violation occurs to the ecclesiastical canon on this account.

Question 3. It occurs, indeed, in the martyries kept by the orthodox that at the time when the orthodox clerics complete * the sacred mys- * p. 161
teries, there are present persons who join without distinction the adherence of the Council of Chalcedon and (also) join in participating in the holy mysteries celebrated by one of the orthodox priests; it even occurs that they bring with them the tenth or that which is called offerings; (we desire) to learn whether it is proper to give them of the sacred mysteries and whether the orthodox may receive any thing which they bring.

The answer. The exact canon of the church remains (valid); they cannot without distinction receive those who have fellowship with the heretics, and their holy offering cannot be given to them by the orthodox priests and they shall also not receive anything that they bring. But since the orthodox have difficulties in making distinction between them because of the multitude of the people, even as in times past, in the days of the holy fathers, as they saw that they were not able to distinguish the orthodox because of the multitude of the people, they regulated this matter with prudence as they could. So you shall also regulate this matter as you can (in such a way) that you will

[2] Lit. accuracy.

not be accused of neglecting strictness [2] and so that you will not give cause for trouble and commotion (among the crowd).

Question 4. Very often the sick enter and lay down in the martyries kept by the orthodox and desire to be given of the sacred mysteries but concerning which, during the time of their healing, they do not distinguish the sacrifice of the orthodox from that of the heretics. We wish to know whether it is right that it should be given to them.

* p. 162 The answer. If it is possible for the orthodox priests to abstain * and not to give them (the communion) — without causing trouble or any harm — it would be very well. But if it so happens that some trouble occurs among the orthodox about this that the communion is not given to the sick, the priests shall exhort them not to return to the heretics after their healing but to continue in our communion — and (then) they shall give to them.

Question 5. Is it right for the orthodox clerics or seculars to eat together with the heretical clerics or seculars?

The answer. It is not right particularly for the orthodox clerics to eat with the heretical clerics and with the laymen. But it is good also for the orthodox laymen to avoid eating with those. If, however, it happens and (an occasion of) necessity which they cannot avoid obliges them to eat, the orthodox shall take it upon themselves to make no prayer with the heretics, not even that one called the benediction over the food and drink placed before them.

Question 6. Is it right to offer the sacrifice for those who have died without being baptized or for the heretics?

The answer. It is by no means right for the orthodox to offer the sacrifice for the auditors who have died or for those who have died being kept in heresies.

Question 7. What is the punishment which lay people who have been in communion with the adherents of the Council of Chalcedon, but who afterwards repent and return to the church of the orthodox, must receive from the orthodox priests?

The answer. The orthodox priests who are in (various) places shall impose a punishment upon each person according to his capacity, having in view the profit of the soul of the one who returns — whether fasting during certain days or prohibition from the communion —

* p. 163 devising every means in order to procure * the salvation of the soul of

[2] Lit. taste, sense of taste, perception.

the one who repents and for the edification of the holy church. From them also a confession of the true faith is required and an anathematization of those who are against it, whether in writing or without writing.

Here end the seven canons.

[XXI]

CHAPTERS [1] WHICH WERE WRITTEN FROM THE ORIENT

THEIR QUESTIONS WERE PRESENTED TO THE HOLY FATHERS AND THERE WAS FOR THEM THIS ANSWER.

1. Those who have been baptized by men who were not made priests shall be baptized as though they have not (been baptized).

2. Concerning children salvaged from captivity. If one does not know their parents or their family who could testify about them to the effect that they had been baptized or if there is no other person to testify whether they have been considered worthy of baptism, they shall be baptized. The one who baptizes them says : "I baptize so and so, if he has not been baptized, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit". With regard to those about whom it is not known and whose case is not clear in the examination, when comparing the two possibilities — whether they have been baptized or not — it is better to baptize a second time rather than to leave them with the result that they are deprived of their gift. For the Spirit of God is not opposed to Himself and if they have received the gift once, they do not receive anything contrary in the second baptism, for otherwise they would have no growth (in grace).

3. Those who have been baptized by the deacons shall have it completed by the sign of the myron. There is a prayer over this sign, according to custom, to seal after the baptism. The deacon, however, who baptizes, except there be danger of death, is guilty of punishment.

[1] κεφαλαία.

* p. 164 * 4. Those who have been baptized by presbyters and have not been signed by the holy myron shall have it completed by the sign of the myron together with a prayer which is said over those being signed.

5. It is necessary that the bishop shall complete by the sign of the cross, but without myron, those altars which have been anointed by the presbyter saying: "This altar is consecrated and completed in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit." Only this — another prayer is not necessary.

6. It is clear that the canon hinders those in whom the working of demons occurs from fellowship in the holy mysteries. But because we have found that the holy Timotheus, the archbishop, and the venerable Severus, the patriarch, have compassionately made a condescension on this matter, we say: If the one in whom the working occurs does all that he ought — who practises fasting and continues in prayers, if he bridles and subjugates his body and is purified through abstinence and other labors which are pleasing to God, and if that one who is troubled by the demon at a particular moment is sound in mind since this is not submitted to its working, it should be left to his wish and conscience. Should he intend to participate in the holy mysteries, fasting is imposed on him and prayer and other similar (practices) — these should necessarily be imposed since our Lord said: "This kind cannot be cast out by anything except fasting" [2]. Yet, should he, after these things have taken place, not be healed, it is clear that this (trial) has taken place in order to test him or because of a matter which is known to God alone and that it is profitable for him to be chastened in this manner. Because he has done the things that he ought, it is right that he should be considered worthy of compassion, inasmuch as it has appeared acceptable to the fathers.

7. Concerning one who has received ordination after which a demon has ruled over him, or one who has not yet been ordained and the working of the evil spirit takes place in him and he is afterwards set free
* p. 165 of * trouble from the demon, it is right to wait a longer time.

If, during a long period of time, (no cause again arises) to reprimand, the one who is ordained shall serve (as a clergyman) and the one who is not (reprimanded) can even become a bishop if there is such a need and he is deserving of it because of his (exemplary) life.

8. It is not lawful to permit a priest to anoint an altar. If an altar is

[2] Mark IX, 29.

to be put in another place, the priest may remove it and fix it elsewhere — where it may be necessary — but this shall (only) take place with the permission of the bishop.

9. The practice that exists in the Orient, where the superiors of the monastery are deaconesses who distribute the mysteries to those who are under their authority, shall be retained where there are only deaconesses and where, in the place in which the mysteries are distributed, there is no presbyter or deacon. However, if there is to be found a pure priest or deacon in their neighborhood, they should not give (the mysteries).

10. Concerning altars in the churches and monasteries that were devastated by the barbarians, but about which one does not know whether they have been anointed or not. If they are of wood, material that is found in every country, they shall be placed in the sacristy with honor in order to deposit (the sacred) garments there or to place chalices, cups and other vessels of the cult there — but one shall never offer on them. If they are of marble which cannot be found in all countries, they should be anointed. The bishop who anoints says: "We anoint this altar, if it has not been anointed, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit."

11. The ordination of a deaconess shall take place according to the custom of the land. We have observed that in the Orient, (the bishop) also puts a stole on her shoulder as in the case of a deacon.

12. A church or a martyry shall be consecrated in the following fashion. * The bishop, before the day begins, fastens the altar and consecrates it. On the following day he goes — if this be a martyry — and he prays and places the bones of the martyrs or the apostles into the urns [3], performs a prayer for the deposition of the bones and anoints the urn with the apobalsamon or the oil of perfume, i.e., he does not consecrate but solely anoints because of the bliss. And in like manner shall he anoint, beginning (at the point) just above the screen [4] (in front of) the ascent to the altar. If there is a cross affixed to the wall, that one which gives peace, the fragrance should reach it. After all this, the service of the (sacred) books and of the offering of the sacrifice shall be completed. But if the time is such that it is difficult to perform all these things, the altar is to be anointed by the bishop and it is to be commissioned and permission will then be given by the bishop through the priests to do the rest.

* p. 166

[3] γοῦρνα — [4] Cancelli.

13. Those who have been led away by force by the heretics and who received ordination while they anathematized those who ordained them and hindered them from laying hands on them — in view of this, i.e., that they anathematized them, their zeal for resistance deserves praise. But on the other hand, it still is requisite to take pains to escape such a situation. It is necessary to wait a certain (length of) time, such as is determined for those who come from the heretics. If, however, the bishop judges it right, because of their zeal, to ease some (requirement) in the canon concerning them, he does well. As to (the point) that certain ones say (that they have received no ordination) because they did not believe that they received anything and if it is therefore necessary to ordain them anew, one can appoint so that (they will be received) among the orthodox in the same manner as those who have received ordination according to their will and thus have fallen into the sin of communion with the heretics.

14. Concerning a stylite who would become a priest in such a way that the one who is to ordain him stands on the ground below, (namely
* p. 167 so) * that the bishop does not ascend to him and he does not descend from the column to the bishop — the fathers have not even wished to speak about it; it is a matter which is forbidden and which is contrary to every rule; it has not appeared to them that it has ever taken place.

15. Concerning a brother who approaches ordination — it is lawful that he shall first become a deacon. If it be feasible, he should first serve in the deaconate and then become a priest. If this is not feasible and if the situation is a pressing one, upon becoming a deacon, he may immediately become a priest.

16. If a tablet [5] that is consecrated is placed on an (altar) table which is not consecrated and (the sacrifice) is offered on it, the table does not thereby become consecrated. It is proper, however, that also the table shall be consecrated.

17. A tablet which is painted shall not be consecrated.

18. If there is a case involving the danger of death, a presbyter despite having taken food — the presbyter as well as the one who is ill and (who) is to be baptized — shall baptize him. So, too, shall one receive communion in emergency.

[5] ܛܒܠܐ, *tabula.*

19. It is evident that the prayers which must be said at baptism and upon the deposition of the holy bones must be made at the altars.

20. Regarding those whose children have been baptized by the heretics while they themselves have kept communion with the orthodox. If they made a covenant with you, adjuring on the Gospel, that they do not go any longer to the heretics and do not have communion given to their children there, give communion to them and their children. However, if they do not wish to bring their children to us, you shall not give communion to them.

21. As to the baptism of the people of Julian the Phantasiast — this shall be dealt with in the same way as with the Chalcedonians who also are heretics. You should admonish those who take communion with the heretics and ask you to baptize their children, and demand this [6]. If this, however, is not possible for * some reason, make a pact through the oath by God that they do not take them thereafter to the heretics and that those baptized by you shall remain in communion with you. * p. 168

22. Concerning the people who say that they are priests but cannot indicate which bishop ordained them, and who, when they are asked as to how this took place, say that the Gospel was placed on their head — it is right to know that these have not been ordained by a bishop, for there is not a bishop who does not know that the Gospel is not placed on the head of the cleric in ordination. It must follow, therefore, that they shall cease (from claiming) this. If they resist and say that they have been made clerics, they must be asked to indicate the one who has made them so. If they come to knowledge and confess that they have not been ordained, (under certain circumstances) it is right for them to become clerics. They do not (become clerics), unless they have a good testimony about them and unless they have done what they must do in the same manner as others who become clerics.

23. Concerning a baby whom in a throng his father has placed (on the baptismal basin) and dipped in the water of baptism without the oil of anointment beforehand and the sign of the myron afterwards, it has appeared good (to the fathers) that the father shall receive an ecclesiastical punishment which, in the view of the bishop, he is capable of enduring in order that his sin may be forgiven and that

[6] The clause is defective; it seems that its sense should be something like : you should admonish them and demand them to abandon their ways.

others will not imitate his arrogance. The baby, however, shall be baptized by a faithful priest for our Lord has said to the apostles and through them to those who have received the gift of the priesthood : "If you remit sins to someone, they shall be remitted to him" [7], and again, "Go, baptize all the peoples in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit" [8]. It is therefore by this power and this permission that the priests baptize and carry out all the rites of baptism which are (observed) in the catholic Church.

* p. 169 * 24. Those who, after they have eaten but are in good health, give communion to children shall be rebuked. If they do the same thing again, they shall receive the ecclesiastical punishment which appears proper to the bishop. For it is right that the holy mysteries shall be approached with all (suitable) preparation and in purity unless the danger from some sickness compels one to approach them in a different manner.

25. Those who have been baptized or have received ordination into the priesthood from the bishops who are the adherents of the people of Julian (of Halicarnassus) — it is right to receive them in the same way as those who repent and turn from the heresy of the Chalcedonians.

The time of duration of those who have received the laying on of hands lies within the authority of the bishop who shall act as seems proper for him for the edification of the church.

We are not unaware of (the fact) that the holy Patriarch Severus ordered those (of the party of Zebad) to be (ordained) anew. And this rightly, for he had learned about his person other reasons in addition to the heresy on (the basis of) which he did not judge him worthy to bear the name of bishop. Therefore, it seems to us concerning those who are from Zebad, as we already said, that they shall be (ordained) anew. However, concerning those who have been baptized by these priests who were (ordained) by him, since the patriarch has not commanded anything (further) on this matter, it does not appear to us good to introduce some novelty and through this to make trouble.

Almost twenty years have passed since all that Zebad arrogantly did, and we have found the following passage in the writing made by holy Severus titled, "Against Anakristo" [9], i.e., against those who say it is necessary to anoint again those who have been baptized (by the

[7] Cf. Matth. XVIII, 18 — [8] Matth. XXVIII, 19 — [9] ἀναχρῖσμα.

adherents) of the Council of Chalcedon when they turn and come back * as they should. (The passage) of the holy Severus is: "Just as the medicine in the science (of healing) heals, in one fashion, one who is sick of a fever, and, in another fashion, one who is (suffering) from a shivering fit of the ague, or, for instance, of a hydropsy or from an enlargement of the spleen, in like manner so do those who heal spiritually — thoroughly [10] — the churches and shepherd them have judged it good to distinguish between the types of all the heresies. They have not applied the same remedy to those who have associated themselves with the corruption of Novatianus and Photinus as do those who have fallen into the snare and mud of Paul of Samosata. For the sixteenth canon of the Three Hundred and Eighteen Fathers [11] wishes adherents of Paul of Samosata to be baptized anew, but adherents of Photinus and Novatianus who become converted to the faithful church according to canon 110, to be completed by the sign of the myron. The synod gathered in Laodicea, Phrygia [12], set up the canon even though the wretched heresies of Paul of Samosata and Photinus lead to the same corrupt insanity and are not different from one another except only in detail. Things being so, we follow the decrees of the fathers and do not require more than that which we must; we do not turn to still more ancient times, to matters which appeared to Cyprian and to those who gathered in Africa" [13]. * p. 170

If, however, someone insists, saying, "That which this patriarch has written, (means that) we also do not accept the baptism of heresies whose ordination we do not accept", because he knows, as we have said above, that Severus not only rejected the laying on of hands made by Zebad on the ground of the heresy but also for other reasons, else he would have shown in the same manner, that he rejects the laying on of hands of the Phantasiasts of the people of Julian who became * the head of this heresy. So, as we have said, according to the writing which this holy patriarch has left us, we do not require [14] more than is necessary in relation to those things which have been ordered by him. We do not believe ourselves to be wiser than he. He saw acutely what necessarily was to follow, namely, that, though many received ordination from Zebad they remained (in service) for a long time performing many baptisms. And yet — as we have said — he rejects ordination without ordering people baptized by them to be baptized anew. * p. 171

[10] Lit. sharply, exactly — [11] See page 101 — [12] See page 119 ff. — [13] See page 173 ff. — [14] Lit. trace.

26. Concerning presbyters and deacons who anathematize one another, not for the reason of heresy, but out of mundane motives and on the impulse of passion without examination and without discernment. It is right to realize that one must not anathematize anyone except heretics alone and those who fall in the sins which the canons anathematize. Those, however, who have gone too far and have anathematized improperly, if they ask for forgiveness and if they have anathematized for a vulgar reason, it should be forgiven them under the threat that should they later fall into the same transgression, they shall receive a deserved punishment. If a priest excommunicates on the basis of some covetousness or of profane gain or in order to take vengeance upon his person, he shall receive punishment right away. If the one who has anathematized shall abide in his impudence and shall not ask for forgiveness, he shall fall under the penalty right away. But (in view of the) diverse causes (involved, all) leading up to anathematization, the duration (of the penalty) and the manner of the punishment resides in the authority of the bishop.

27. It was said above that it is not lawful for a priest to anathematize anyone except only heretics. A priest who anathematizes, except in such a case, sins and he sins much more if he anathematizes a priest, * p. 172 his colleague or a deacon. * Again, when a deacon anathematizes, he sins more when he anathematizes a presbyter or a deacon, his colleague. His fault is great since he assaults and behaves insolently against one who is more excellent than he is himself or who is equal to him in right. A brother or a layman who anathematizes a priest — or (they anathematize) each other — evidently also sin. They certainly know that they do not have the authority to anathematize, but, being seized by some passion, they throw out the anathema as a means of affront and bravery. It is necessary that they, too, shall be reprimanded by the bishop.

28. It is not allowed a presbyter to ban a presbyter except he be a chorepiscopus, a periodeut [15] or a *sā'ūrā* [16]. These can ban (others), but only those who are under their authority with the exception of the case in which the one who is banned accepts the ban. We mention, by way of an example, (the case of) people, who are engaged in a lawsuit with one another, who come to a chorepiscopus or a periodeut

[15] ܦܪܝܘܕܐ, *περιοδευτής* — [16] An overseer, visitor.

or a *sā'ūrā* or a presbyter (but) who are not under his authority, and in which it seems proper for him to make a judgment before having imposed the ban. It is necessary for him first to ask the one who is not under his authority whether he would accept his ban; and if that one who is to be heard before him says that he will accept his ban, it is allowed him to ban. No person can relieve him except one who is of a degree higher than he.

(And only) after his matter has been examined, and after he has redeemed his fault. The one who has bound him can also relieve him.

29. It is not permitted a presbyter or a deacon or any other person of whatever rank to ban someone out of vengeance for his person. When, nevertheless, someone bans, whether for vengeance for his person or for another evil reason, and the request is presented to him to remove the ban and he does not accept it, it is necessary for this case to be brought before the bishop. When the bishop examines the case and sees that this presbyter has bound him improperly or that he was not willing to relieve him, * the bishop is allowed to relieve his ban. If it seems proper to him, he can put him under punishment. * p. 173

30. Priests who swear, or who swear and transgress their oath, must understand that they (fall) under the commandment of our Lord Jesus Christ who has commanded and said: "I say to you: do not swear at all" [17]. Thus, the one who swears even if he keeps his oath sins. The one who swears and transgresses commits two sins. Therefore, it is necessary that they shall be ordered to suppress the habit of the oath from the mouth. (In connection with) the first transgression to which they confess, there must be a warning to them so that they will ask God to fogive them. If they, after such a threat, shall be held (captive) to the same transgression, they must take the canon (of punishment) which is appropriate. When they have transgressed and gone astray, the bishop shall fix a punishment for them according to the sin he finds in them.

31. When it happens that a man binds himself by his oath for a thing which he thinks he needs, it is not proper for him to be relieved by the bishop.

32. Priests who have been seized by heretics and have been compelled by them to swear that they will not re-enter their villages or any other place which draws profit from their entrance,

[17] Matth. v, 34.

it is right that they endure vexation, suffering, shame, or other similar things in endeavoring not to swear because of the commandment of our Lord. They, indeed, sin in promising this. Although their sin stands (there are extenuating circumstances) since they had to do so under force. However, if their coming brings profit for the faithful people, they shall have forgiveness for the transgression of the commandment—for the sake of the profit of the souls who depend on them. For the burden of this transgression shall fall on the heretics who have compelled them to swear improperly. If, however, the heretics demand
* p. 174 a writing, everything that may be involved in such a writing, * in which they impose pains and a temporal sentence constitutes a danger for those who swear.

33. Regarding certain people of the heresy of Julian who went to Alexandria and who received ordination from the orthodox bishops without revealing to them that they were heretics. If they return to the faith of the truth, they must be censured because they received the gift of God as by thievery — however, it shall suffice (to apply) the canons about those who return from that heresy. If, when questioned, they confess that they, from that time, had intentions of joining the orthodox, that they censured the heresy of the Julianists and that is why they received ordination from the hands of an orthodox bishop — then it is proper to waive for them this canon.

34. It is not permitted the orthodox presbyters and deacons to eat together with the heretics. If they are found eating with them, they shall be reprimanded. Their cases, however, must be regulated for the edification of the church and so as it is possible in country in which they are (resident).

35. A priest who eats together with a Jew shall be suspended from the service and the offering until he promises that he will not do so any more. In like manner, also, shall a brother and a layman be excluded from the communion. But a priest, however, shall come under another canon as may seem good to the bishop.

36. When a presbyter or a deacon anathematizes or bans someone, and afterwards the one who anathematized or banned joins the heretics, it is proper that his matter should be brought before the bishop. If it seems to the bishop that the one who banned has done (rightly), then he shall confirm the suspension — so that (from henceforth it issues) from himself and not from that person who has joined the heretics. For that one who joined the heretics shall fall under the anathema

* together with the heretics and henceforth can no longer bind or release * p. 175
the believers. But if it seems to the bishop that the one who banned banned maliciously it is necessary that he shall release him immediately.

37. If someone shall anathematize himself or suspend himself, he cannot release himself from his suspension, but his action should be brought before the bishop and he is to be censured and reprimanded because of the precipitation of his tongue. If it seems proper to the bishop to impose on him some penalty for this transgression, he shall impose it. But if he has bound himself because of an evil affair or a sin, it is not proper that he should be released because this bond (constitutes) a bridle which has been made for him so that he may get rid of the sin.

38. If it is the custom for the chorepiscopus to create the *qārūyē* [18] or not to create, it is up to the bishop to permit it.

39. If one, who has committed a murder, has done so by intent, he shall be bound to a degree of penitence up to the end of his life when he shall be judged worthy. One who has done so, but not by intent, it is lawful that he shall remain five years in penitence and thereafter participate in the mysteries. But if he be a priest, then it is necessary that, when he has killed by intent, he shall cease from his priesthood and that he must complete the decree fixed for a secular. But if he has killed, yet not by intent, he shall be suspended from the sacrifice for five years as a secular. Afterwards, he may receive communion as a secular during the period that seems proper to the bishop. Then, if it seems proper to the bishop that he deserves to serve, he shall serve.

40. Concerning those brothers, whose priests are heretics of the party of Julian, those who have separated themselves from them and do not partake with them in the mysteries because they have come to the religion of truth and who have demanded that it should be permitted them to serve with them in the office of the Psalms and to eat with them the ordinary food — it is right to have for them (the spirit of) connivance and compassion (in the hope) that with the help of God, their priests will become ashamed and return * to the truth, or that (on * p. 176
the other hand) these (brothers) incapable of perfection might (not) return to the pit of the heresies. It is necessary, however, that there

[18] Readers.

be testimony about them from trustworthy men in the village to the effect that they do not receive communion with them.

41. Concerning the sisters obliged to go to study in the church and who do not receive the communion, it is proper also to have condescension towards them so that some offense will not occur before the believers and, from this, injury. If it is possible, there should be testimony by people who know them to the effect that they do not receive communion in the church (of the heretics).

42. The monks called Lampetians [19] by the Romans, among whom men and women live together, if they ask to become converts and to live with the orthodox, it is lawful first of all that they shall separate the men from the women. Then they shall anathematize Lampetius who was the cause of this trouble and his heresies. It is necessary also to require from them about the origin of their priesthood. If it is found, indeed, that the bishop, an adherent of the Council of Chalcedon or of the party of Julian, has ordained them, they shall be received after they make a writing as other heretics must and carry out the penitence in the samme manner.

Here end the forty-two canons.

[XXII]

FROM A LETTER WRITTEN BY THE HOLY FATHERS TO THE PRESBYTERS AND RĪŠAI DAIRĀTĀ PAULĀ AND PAULĀ OF THE VILLAGE OF LISOS OF THE COUNTRY OF CILICIA

The God-loving presbyter and *rīšdairā* Paulā who received the
* p. 177 abbacy after the late Sandā, and the other * God-loving Presbyter and *rīšdairā* Paulā who received the abbacy after the late Qaligūnā — they shall receive those who become converts from the heresy of the Synod of Chalcedon and take refuge in the holy church; the first two canons are written in the first reply [1] but the third is not written above and it is proper to clarify it here.

1. The first canon. If occurs that one of those who received ordination of the orthodox leaders becomes a heretic, and if it happens that he

[19] *Λαμπετιανοί.*

[1] Lit. question.

tion of the orthodox leaders becomes a heretic, and if happens that he becomes a convert later and returns to the holy church — they shall receive him and a document [2] of the penitence, a statement of declaration of the right faith and the anathema of those opposing shall be demanded (from him). He shall then immediately be judged worthy of the sacred mysteries. However, he shall be deprived for three years, of the sacerdotal ministry; afterward, upon the completion of these three years, if one sees that he has accomplished a veritable penitence, he shall be judged worthy for the service of the holy church according to the rank which has been bestowed on him.

The second. If it is right for a deacon in the ministry to have a stole placed on his shoulders; if he wishes, he may drape an *'apārā* [3] over it with the stole beneath and so he shall fulfill his service.

The third. For those of our holy church, it is not right to bring something (as an offering) to the heretics, but if it happens through ignorance that a brother would make some offering in the martyry kept by heretics — for such a reason, it is not proper that there should be among you any divisions and quarrels. The same (is true) if lay people who have communion with heretics wish to make an offering to the orthodox; we leave this to the wish of the brothers — if * they wish * p. 178 to accept or do not wish to do so — in order that, for such a cause, there should be no divisions or quarrels among you.

The fourth. It is not right for a priest of our fellowship to officiate at (an altar) table which has not been consecrated by an orthodox head of the priests. It is also not right for a presbyter to dare to anoint or consecrate an altar.

The fifth. It is not right for the priests, the members of our office, to make a memorial for those who have died in the communion of the heretics. If, however, it occurs that the priests of our church accept gifts from living ones who are orthodox, if they judge discreetly, they must accept; the one who has accepted shall say without the sacerdotal service: "May God forgive the one who is dead and give him rest".

The sixth. At an ordinary table where there is no presbyter, a deacon who is present shall give benediction over those who eat with him.

The seventh. A cleric who has abandoned the clergy and who has taken the garb [4] of monasticism and (afterwards) deserts it and returns

[2] ܠܝܒܠܠܐ, *libellus* — [3] ܩܘܦܠܐ, hood — [4] σχῆμα.

to the (status) which he had previously, he shall not be deprived of the sacerdotal office if his life is blameless.

Here end the seven canons.

[XXIII]

FROM A LETTER OF HOLY QŌNSṬANṬĪNĀ, METROPOLITAN OF LAODICEA, TO ABA MARQOS THE ISAURIAN

* p. 179 Canon 1. Those who have received ordination from those * who are adherents of the Synod of Chalcedon and who returned to the holy church yet did not reveal to the orthodox head of the priests, a member of our fellowship, their ordination which they received from the heretics, as (a result of which) the orthodox head of the priests, not having been made aware of it, ordains them anew, they burden themselves with a heavy sin.

However, if they have done so in ignorance, they deserve forgiveness. Receive them in order that they may serve with you, but demanding from them a document [1] in like manner as those concerning whom we have written above.

2. A presbyter who has received ordination from an orthodox head of the priests, who has been seized by the heretics and who has been coerced to utter an oath in writing, which is called by the Greeks an *'eksōmōsyā* [2], that he will no longer fulfill the sacerdotal service, he shall be worthy of pardon. It is evident that the sin falls back upon those who have iniquitously compelled him (to do so). Therefore, he shall come back to the sacerdotal service.

3. As for priests and deacons who have fallen into other faults, if they shall undergo a genuine penitence and if you find that they have completed it in suffering, admit them so that they shall serve with you.

Many of the holy bishops in fact have considered those who have committed such faults worthy of pardon — out of pity — helping them by relaxing the strictness of the canons (so that they may be) useful.

[1] لحلحه, *libellus* — [2] ἐξωμοσία.

4. Those who one time have separated themselves from the fellowship of the heretics can no longer return and conduct prayers with them not even to receive objects which have not been blessed.

Here end the four canons.

* [XXIV] * p. 180

FROM A LETTER WHICH ONE OF THE VENERABLE BISHOPS WROTE TO HIS FRIEND CONCERNING CERTAIN TRANSGRESSIONS ABOUT WHICH HE HAD WRITTEN TO HIM.

Canon 1 : Concerning the transgression about which you have written us, we inform your friendship that one who dares to purify — as you have written to us — wine that has become corrupted in the wine jars in the manner of the example that you have related, if it is a priest who has done this or has advised another to do this, he shall be suspended from the priesthood for three years. And if possible, he shall be put into a monastery for penitence and he shall be deprived of communion for one year. If this priest, not being the owner of the wine, has done this in his impudence and without the permission of the priest (i.e., the owner of the wine,) if he is well to do he shall give the price of the wine to the poor and be deprived of communion from season to season [1]. For such a thing as this shall be sanctified [2] by the word of the priest — for there is nothing impure in the creation; the one who follows his conscience so that he drinks, after the invitation of the priest, does not sin. But it shall not be given to drink for others without the warning; and (none) of it shall be sold without telling the matter (so that the seller will not) receive (more than) a small part of the price (of the wine).

2. A priest who anoints a sick one who has already been baptized once with the oil of unction, it is lawful that he be rejected from the priesthood for the Apostle has said, "There is but one faith, one baptism" [3] and, therefore, there is but one unction. Because of the great ignorance of the villagers (in such matters), he shall be suspended from the priesthood for three years and be excluded from communion * for * p. 181

[1] Lit. from season to season — [2] Lit. shall be made pure — [3] Eph. IV, 5.

one year; he shall spend these years, if it be possible, in a monastery in penitence until he learns the orders of the church. The oil, however, which is proper (so that sick people) can be anointed by it according to the commandment of the Apostle James [4], has a particular prayer which the priest makes over the ordinary oil; and then he anoints sick people with it.

3. With regard to that one who has a husband and with whom the brother (of the husband) has committed adultery and finally has married, it is necessary that they be expelled from participation in the mysteries until they are separated from one another. And when they are so separated, they shall pass a certain time in penitence as is deemed proper by the bishop. But one shall never permit them to return to their union. If they accept penitence, one shall allow them mercy to receive the communion. You find a canon of this sort — this is the second of the Synod of Neocaesarea [5]. (In like manner), that one who takes the wife of his uncle, both are reckoned (in the same way) in transgression. They must separate themselves and their children shall be divided. As long as they are together, it is not right (for them) to participate in the holy mysteries.

4. Concerning those who marry their nieces, even the laws of the world decide against them so that their children may not inherit from them. In the canons, we do not find anything said about them, but if the laws of the world punish them, so much the more shall this be (the case) by the laws of God which demand even the greatest purity. We cannot decide more (precisely) in regard to this (case).

5. Whether a baby who has been anointed by the oil of unction and who has received the communion must be baptized? If it was anointed by a priest, he shall receive punishment for the same who could anoint should also have baptized it.

6. Those who have been baptized by Zakkai shall be received as those who have been baptized by a presbyter and not by a bishop. * p. 182 Those, however, * who have been baptized by presbyters who claim to be of Zakkai shall be baptized anew; for those who baptize them have not received the gift of the Holy Spirit and (as a consequence) it is not for them to give the Holy Spirit to others; therefore it is necessary to baptize anew all those who claim to have been baptized by them.

[4] James v, 14 — [5] See page 107.

7. Concerning this Julianist of the party of Isḥāq — if he has received the presbyterate from the hand of the orthodox, they (i.e., those baptized by him) shall be received as those baptized by a presbyter. So, also, shall those who have been ordained presbyters by Prōkōp be received. But, if (that one who baptized) has been made presbyter by Zebad, one shall baptize those whom he has baptized anew because the patriarch has commanded that the ordination by Zebad is void.

Those who have been baptized by the presbyters named by him shall be baptized (anew) in like manner as those of the party of Zakkai.

8. In the days of the patriarch Mār Severus, there was in the church of Antioch a cleric [6] whose wife died and who took another (wife). The patriarch when he heard about him said to him : "Can you leave this wife ?" But this one, Anatolios, answered to the patriarch that he could not leave (her) and (then) he said to him, "Well, then you cannot serve (any longer)", and thus he departed from his presence.

Mār Enṭrekios, metropolitan of Anazarb, informed the patriarch Mār Severus, that he had in his clergy men who had taken two wives : "What is the right thing to do with them ?" The patriarch responded to him : "That one who since your days has taken two wives cut off (from the office), but those who have done this before your days do not cut off." This matter is being observed in this way since then.

Here end the eight canons.

* [XXV] * p. 183

AGAIN CANONS OF THE HOLY SYNOD OF THE EIGHTY-SEVEN BISHOPS WHO WERE ASSEMBLED IN AFRICA

1. The first canon. Of the holy Cyprianus the chief of the bishops of the town Carthage. You have heard, my dear ones, my honorable fellow bishops, what Jubaianus, our fellow bishop, has written when he was asking to take counsel from our feebleness. This is concerning the ineffective [2] and unlawful baptism of the heretics, (and) what then I wrote to him for instruction. This, however, is something which we

[6] ἐκκλησιέκδικος.

[1] Held in 256 A.D. — [2] Lit. not successful.

have judged one time, several times, and many times, that heretics who approach the church must be baptized and sanctified through the baptism of the church. And afterwards another letter of the same Jubaianus has also been made known to you. He wrote to us deservedly in this way that he does not only agree with what we wrote to him but he gave thanks for the instruction regarding the truth. However, what is needed now is that concerning the same matter each of you should say how he thinks, so that no one of us is judged and (by rejection) becomes without fellowship if he thinks what is opposite. For no bishop brings himself through an arrogant device to compel the leaders, his colleagues, that they should obey his opinion. Therefore, every one of the bishops has the power, in his liberty, to conduct himself as he believes. For even as he does not accept that he should be judged by any one, in like manner ought he also not to judge others. However, let us all wait for the judgment of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has the power to establish bishops in His holy church and He shall try and prove every one of them in his conduct.

* p. 184 * 2. Second, of the holy Baqilis [3] of the town of Chalcedon [4]. I know (only) one baptism of the church and none out of the church, not even in (a single) place. For where there is baptism, there is hope of the truth and of the faith. So it is written "One faith, and hope and one baptism" [5]. And this is not among the heretics — these have no hope and no faith for they have (only) falsehood and mockery, where a demoniac exorcizes, where one whose mouth and tongue are death and bitterness inquires mysteries — O that! — (and) speaks of faith, a sinner gives forgiveness of sins, and the Antichrist walks in the name of Christ, one who is cursed blesses, he who is dead understands life, he who is a stranger to peace gives peace, a blasphemer calls on God, in the priesthood a wicked one serves the altar, a spoiler of the temples offers the sacrifice to God while serving Satan — even if one says that these things against them, i. e., what I say against the heretics, are false. But if the church is compelled to receive people who have no baptism and no pardon of sins — let us flee from them and hide ourselves from them and from their wickedness, and take hold of the baptism which is given from God to His church alone.

[3] Latin : Caecilius. Cf. *Sententiae LXXXVII episcoporum*, p. 247 ff. — [4] Latin : Biltha — [5] Eph. IV, 4-5.

3. Of the holy Primos of the town Mastrippa [6]. The third canon. Every one who comes from the heresy must be baptized, for the baptism there is vain for it is not — (except) the one and only baptism; because God is one, and faith is one and redemption and life everlasting. For anything that takes place outside the church results in nothing.

4. The fourth of the holy Polycarpus, bishop of the town Adramuntos [7]. Those who think that the baptism of the heretics * is acceptable * p. 185 make this that is ours not acceptable.

5. The fifth of the holy Novatus, bishop of the town Tanubios. Since all the Scriptures testify that the baptism of redemption which is in the church is the one and only one, we must confess our faith that we shall baptize heretics and schismatics, who come to the church after their false baptism, into that (baptism) in truth. On this account I have baptized all those who have come from there, and those who have come from their clergy, I have placed as ordinary (laymen).

In this way they set up twenty canons which have the same force, on the names of twenty bishops.

Here end the five canons.

[XXVI]

THE HOLY SEVERUS, THE HEAD OF THE BISHOPS OF ANTIOCH, FROM HIS MĒMRĀ AGAINT THOSE WHO REPEAT THE ANOINTMENT

When Cyprianus was ruling in Carthage of Africa, God-loving bishops, eighty-seven in number, were assembled there; some of them from Africa, some from Mauretania and some from Numidia. And they determined that whoever returns from any heresy must be perfected through the baptism of the holy church [1] — they did not differentiate the efficacies [2] of each of them, but * put all of them under the same * p. 186 sentence. This seemed good to them and they determined this with divine zeal. This he manifestly also makes known in that which was written later and was sent by the holy Cyprianus to Jubaianus and

[6] Latin : Misgirpa — [7] Latin : Hadrumentum — [8] Latin : Thamogade.

[1] See page. 173 ff. — [2] Or : activities.

Quintus and Magnus, in which he informs also about those who are baptized on their beds during sickness.

After a short time Dionysius, who was the shepherd of the church in Alexandria in that time, wrote to his namesake Dionysius and to Stephanus of the holy church in Rome, as he made a distinction and he expressed other (views) thus: "Those who have been baptized in the name of three persons [3], of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, even if they were baptized by the heretics (but) confessing the three divine persons [4], shall not be baptized again. Those, however, who come back from other heresies must by all means be perfected by the baptism of the church. Also the holy three hundred and eighteen fathers who were assembled at Nicaea [5] cleaved to this opinion — those who were the shepherds of the church after them.

Those, however, who were assembled in Africa in the days of Cyprianus, as they were looking at the (common) appellation of the heresies, they offered a strong cure. But those in the days of the great Dionysius and those after him made a distinction because of the sufferings of the sicknesses and offered to each one a suitable cure. And after other (matters), he writes: "But we follow the commands of the fathers and do not hold them back perversely. Neither do we return to those which formerly had pleased Cyprianus and those who were with him in Africa.
* p. 187 Those we mentioned above. * But we ought to be persuaded by those (matters) which appeared good to those faithful men who from time to time have been the shepherds of the church of Christ. And we should not follow the opinion one by one of those who dared (to talk) against something which they did not understand and who imagined [6] that they had found the proof [7] of their argument [8], and who rose against the laws of the fathers in the audacity of their expression.

Thus, also, the holy Cyprianus in his letter to Quintus set the extended rule that we ought to agree with those who regarding the benefit and unity of the church later find something different, and that we must not be prejudiced and be held captive by previous opinions. I am convinced, however, that they were moved by the Holy Spirit to speak these (things) as it was good and as in that time he was very anxious to establish what had been determined by them, (namely), that every

[3] *Qenūmā*, hypostasis — [4] *Qenūmā*, hypostasis — [5] See page 95 ff. — [6] Lit. scattered, i.e. wandered in many directions — [7] Lit. accuracy — [8] Lit. word.

one who comes back from any heresy must be perfected by the baptism of the holy church.

Also, the Apostle Paul has said in his letter [9], persuading and teaching — as he was taking care to bring us to peaceful concord — he says thus: "Two or three prophets may talk in the congregation [10] and the rest shall interpret [11]; but if it is revealed to another, sitting there, let the first one remain silent" [12]. Thereby he manifestly teaches and demonstrates that many things are revealed to each one of us for profit. Therefore it is not good at all for a man that he should rise in quarrel as against what seemed (right) to him previously. However, if something is seen later as useful and excellent, he must accept it in good will. Whenever we encounter excellent ways [13] we suffer no loss [14] (at all), but we learn increasingly, especially in these matters which are suitable for the concord of the church and for the truth and the Gospel of the faith.

* [XXVII] * p. 188

AGAIN FROM THE SAME HOLY SEVERUS A ŠŪ'ĀLĀ WHICH WAS ASKED BY THEODOROS, THE BISHOP OF OLBA IN ISAURIA

Concerning a boy regarding whom no one knew whether he had become worthy of the gift and grace of the divine baptism; and he gave the answer in writing thus.

In the days of the holy Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, two women had been quarreling about their sons, over which one of their two sons, each of them, had been baptized. The holy Cyrillus, however, took both boys, dipped [1] them into the lifegiving water, saying thus: "Here is being baptized that one who had not been baptized, in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit".

And again, in a monastery in Palestine lived an Ethiopian brother. When he saw baptizers were baptizing those who were considered worthy to approach baptism, he revealed to one (of his brethren) that

[9] The citation is furnished with quotation marks — [10] Lit. church — [11] Lit. made distinctions — [12] I Cor. XIV, 29-30 — [13] Lit. virtues — [14] Lit. become not vanquished.

[1] Lit. cast down.

he had not been baptized. According to the advice of the bishop who was at that time, he was baptized. And this was not done without the intention [2] of the ordinance [3] of the Holy Spirit.

Thus it is right that regarding those about whom there is any suspicion [4] and we do not know if they have been baptized or not, that we shall do what the holy Cyrillus (did). When a priest does baptize them, he shall speak thus : "I baptize so and so if he has not been baptized, in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit". For in this way the grace of the Holy Spirit according to the word of him who baptizes accompanies him.

Here end the canons of the holy Apostles.

* p. 189

* [XXVIII]

A LETTER OF HOLY BASILIUS TO DIODORUS THE IMPIOUS, AS HE STILL WAS A PRESBYTER CONCERNING THE LETTERS WRITTEN BY HIM, ALLOWING A MAN TO TAKE THE SISTER AS HIS WIFE.

Letters have reached us, indicating the name of Diodorus but which, with regard to the rest, are creditable to anyone rather than Diodorus, For it seems to me that someone among those, skilful in cunning, is creeping into (the role of) your person, so that he intends to make himself trustful to those who give heed to them. Indeed he was asked by someone whether it would be lawful for him to contract a marriage, after the death of his wife, with her sister. He was not frightened by the question but placidly endured the report [1] and together supported the wanton lust very vigorously and bellicosely. If, therefore, this letter would be available to me, I would send it also to you, and you would have been able to assist (both) yourself and the cause of the truth; but he, however, who showed it to us took it away again — as some kind of ensign of triumph against us — as we have forbidden these things from the beginning, saying that he must have the authorization in writing. I have written to you in order to go against that forged

[2] Lit. sign — [3] Lit. law, *νόμος* — [4] Lit. irksomeness, disgust.

[1] Lit. hearing.

writing [2] with redoubled strength and I also shall not leave (even) one (particle of) strength (in order) freely to injure those who have a chance to read it.

First of all (I have to urge) that which is the greatest (issue) regarding (matters) like this, (namely) the custom which is among us and which has the force of law because * the laws have been transmitted to us * p. 190 from holy men. But this is as follows: if any one, being sometimes taken captive by the passion of defilement, falls into unlawful intercourse with two sisters, this is not reckoned as a marriage unto him; they, too, are not admitted to enter the church at all except they first separate themselves from one another and uproot (their relationship). So also we would have nothing else to say; the custom is sufficient for keeping from that which is of the evil one.

However, because the one who wrote this letter has tried to introduce an evil like this into our existence [3] by an abhorrent argument, we are compelled not to abstain from the succour that (comes) from the counsels [4] — although in these (matters) which are very evident, the preeminence of the sentiment [5] of everyone is stronger than reason [6].

For it is written, he says, in the Book of Leviticus: "You shall not take a woman as a rival wife to her sister and unconvering her nakedness while she is yet alive" [7]. From this, therefore, he says, it is manifest that he is allowed to take her after her death.

With regard to this, first of all I say this, then, that all that the law says, it says to those who are under the law — otherwise, if it were not so, also we would be subjected to circumcision, the observance of the Sabbath, and the abstinence from food. For it is not right that when we find something which has a free course together with our pleasure, we put ourselves under the yoke of the slavery of the law (and then) when anything of the law seems too hard, we run hastily to the freedom (of the Gospel).

We have been asked whether it is written (that it is allowed) to take one to wife after her sister. We say what is circumspect to us and true though it is not written.

(We deduce) by the sequence (of reasoning) and the argument from what is (passed over) in silence, (i.e. that this) is up to the lawgiver to carry out (the provisions of) the one who set up the law and not

[2] Lit. discourse, treatise — [3] Lit. world, age — [4] Lit. thoughts — [5] Lit. holding — [6] Or: definition; lit. word — [7] Lev. XVIII, 18.

(let it be) up to one who quotes [8] (the articles) of the law. If this would
* p. 191 * not be so, one who desires to dare it could take her sister even while his wife was still alive. For also this case fits in with this cunning device [9] (and, indeed, one could argue in this way): for it is written, "You shall not take a rival wife" so that outside of jealousy regarding the rival wife, there is no prohibition from taking her; for one would make a plea with (this contention) that the kind of (relationship) with the sisters is such that there exists no jealousy from the rival wife. Thus, throwing out the reason which prohibits [10] the living together with both, what shall be there to hinder him to take (both) sisters?

We, however, say that these things are not written. (Moreover), these things are not determined (distinctly). The reasoning from the sequence (of arguments) involves arbitrariness [11], in like manner for both sides.

However, it is right for (a matter of fact treatment) to go back quickly (and look) a little at (those things) which are behind the giving of the law. For it seems that the legislation does not count every kind of sin, but especially passes sentence over those of the Egyptians from whom Israel departed and these of the Canaanites towards whom they were returning when settling down. The commandment was as follows: "You shall not do according to the practices of the land of the Egyptians in which you dwelt and you shall not do according to the practices of Canaan to which I bring you, and you shall not walk in their laws" [12]. Then, too, it is likely that this kind of sin was perhaps not practised at that time among these Gentiles. On this account, also, the lawgiver was not compelled (to include) the commandment of observance regarding this (practice). However, the custom by way of introduction (but not written) suffices to raise accusations regarding this abomination.

How then is it that it sentenced the greater [13], but was silent on the less [14]? This example of the head of the fathers seemed injurious to many (because it abetted) those who loved flesh (even) so far as to live together with them (when both) sisters were still alive.

* p. 192 * As to us, what ought we to do? To quote these (things) that have been written and not to work out those things which have been passed over in silence? Yet in these laws, it is not written that it is unlawful

[8] Lit. says — [9] Rendering of *σόφισμα* — [10] Lit. determines, excommunicates — [11] Lit. power, authority — [12] Lev. XVIII, 3 — [13] Lit. great — [14] Lit. small.

for the father and the son to hold intercourse with one and the same woman. However, in the prophet this is understood as the extreme accusation : "For a son (and his) father", he says, "were going in unto the same girl" [15]. How many are the other kinds of unclear passions (which) the school of the demons has found out ? Nevertheless, the divine Scripture remains silent (about them), not yielding to the pollution its own dignity by (mentioning) the name of filthy things but it has abhorred uncleanness in generic and general terms [16]. For example, also the Apostle Paul says, "But fornication and all uncleanness ... shall not be (even) named among you as is godly for the saints" [17], thus including together under the name of uncleanness, the unspeakable doings of males and those of females. Therefore, by no means is it so that silence brings authorization to the lover of lust.

I, however, say that this point [18] has not been left in silence but that it, very greatly, has been placed under the interdict and uprooted by the giver of the law. For when it (says), "You shall not go into any one related by your flesh to uncover their nakedness" [19], it is inclusive and this (embraces) also this kind of relationship. For what could be more akin to him than his own wife or rather his own flesh? "For they are no more two, but one flesh" [20]. Therefore, through the wife, her sister enters [21] the relationship of her husband. For as he is not allowed to take the mother of his wife, also not the daughter of his wife, so because (he cannot take) his mother and also not his own daughter, therefore also not the sister of his wife, because (he cannot take) his own sister. On the other hand, it is also not lawful for a wife * to live with a kin * p. 193 of her man for the rights of relationship are valid [22] on both (sides in the same way).

I, however, am giving a testimony to everyone who wants to enter marriage : "That the fashion [23] of this world passes away" [24], and the time is short so "that also they who have wives shall be as though they have none" [25]. But when he quotes to me, "Increase and multiply" [26], I laugh at him (because of) his (understanding of) lawgiving that does not discern the times. The second marriage is a remedy [27] against fornication, not the provision for lasciviousness. He says, "If they cannot endure let them marry" [28], but if they marry, they shall not trespass the law.

[15] Amos II, 7 — [16] Lit. names — [17] Eph. V, 3 — [18] Lit. part — [19] Lev. XVIII, 6 — [20] Matth. XIX, 6 — [21] Lit. turns changing — [22] Lit. universal — [23] σχῆμα — [24] I Cor. VII, 31 — [25] I Cor. VII, 29 — [26] Gen. I, 28 — [27] Lit. consolation — [28] I Cor. VII, 9.

But they whose eyes of their souls are blinded through the blurring of shameful passion do not even look at nature. They of the former (times) distinguished the names of the family. Under what relationship do they name these who are born? Do they call them their brothers and cousins of one another? For despite the confusion, both names are fitting. O man, do not make the aunt a step-mother for your infants; do not arm her with jealousy of rival wives who in the (normal) order (of the status) of a mother ought to warm and rear them. For it is only the race of step-mothers that extend enmity even beyond death. Contrary to those who are enemies (during their life-times and become reconciled), a step-mother brings (her hatred) after death.

The sum [29] of (all the things) that have been said is: if a man comes to a marriage according to law, the whole habitable (earth) is open to him; but if passion is his motivation [30], because of this he shall be even more restrained in order that he shall learn to contain his vessel (in holiness) and not in the passion of desire [31].

Though I am eager to say much more, the size of the letter compells
* p. 194 me (to conclude). I pray that either our admonition * shall prove stronger than passion or that this defilement shall not enter (our own) land — in those places where it has been presumptiously done, let it abide there.

Here ends the letter of the holy Basilius to the Impious Diodorus.

[XXIX]

OF THE HOLY SEVERUS FROM THE LETTER TO THECLA THE COMITISSA [1]

When necessity presses and death threatens while no presbyter is in the neighborhood, then also a deacon may baptize. If, however, the presbyter comes afterwards, then it is necessary for him that he shall anoint with myron and seal the consummation (of the rite). This is demonstrated in the Diataxis [2] of the Apostles which the Apostles called the Testament of our Lord [3]. For it is written in it thus: "When no presbyter is present, in necessity the deacon may baptize" [4].

[29] κεφάλαιον — [30] Lit. diligence — [31] I Thess. IV, 4 f.

[1] κομιτίσσα — [2] διάταξις — [3] See page 57 ff. — [4] See page 59.

[XXX]

OF THE SAME (HOLY SEVERUS) FROM THE SEVENTEENTH HYPOMNESTICON TO CAESARIA HYPATISSA [1]

What is right to do with the veils [2], those which had been consecrated but have been worn out? Concerning this, I make it known that if they are entirely worn out, then wash them thoroughly and pour the water in a clean place in a garden where you dig * to a depth. (Then) give them * p. 195 to the needy for the healing of ulcers [3]. If, however, the veils are not yet worn out at all (and they are superfluous [4]), then give them to others.

[XXXI]

FROM THE LETTER (OF THE SAME VENERABLE SEVERUS) TO BISHOP SOLON

Because we like inquiry also in those matters which seem quite manifest, only then do we form a just judgment on them, first of all submitting (them) to true judgment on the scales of God. We should be fearful that it may (well) happen that while we pardon others, we ourselves may fall into the same (transgressions) [1].

[XXXII]

THE SAME (VENERABLE SEVERUS) TO PRESBYTERS QŌSMĀ, PŌLŌAQṬŌS AND ZENŌBIŌS

If we give a biased judgment in matters which are well known, this is not a (natural) sequence [1], neither according (to the standards) of

[1] ὑπατίσσα — [2] Or: curtain — [3] Or: abscess — [4] So Ms. Mard. Orth. 322, fol. 77b.

[1] This is a different translation from the version in Ms. Br. Add. 12,181, fol. 25b-26a and Ms. Add. 14,600, fol. 29a.

[1] Lit. connexion.

human laws nor according to the regulation of the Holy Spirit. Therefore we cannot yield to agree with those which have been written by your chastity. It is not that we do not believe you, but as we keep the law ... [2] It would therefore be right that you as a God-fearing man
* p. 196 should come * here. Because then we can study [3] also the other matter and then the truth would be investigated.

[XXXIII]

FROM THE LETTER OF THE SAME (VENERABLE SEVERUS) TO BISHOP DIOSQURŌS

I am not able, however, to agree with these (matters) from your piety and not with those which have been written by the other party. It is of necessity [1] that I give judgment according to what is true, even if it were an angel who says these things — for words without witness and examination are farfetched. How am I able to ratify them?

[XXXIV]

FROM THE LETTER OF THE SAME (VENERABLE SEVERUS) TO BISHOP EUCHARIOS

For we cannot render a verdict against the one who is guilty before he has been given an opportunity [1] to excuse himself and his accusers appear before him, so as it is written. Therefore we have considered it to be the only prescribed form [2] (of procedure) that the one who sinned be sent here and also those who are able to blame him
* p. 197 and to establish the charge [3] against him. * In this way shall we carry out (the rule) that he be put under the canonical decrees [4]. Because it is written, as also your love of God knows and teaches others, that "The innocent and righteous you shall not kill" [5] and [6] "the guilty one you shall not declare blameless" [7].

[2] A hiatus — [3] Lit. read.

[1] Lit. connexion, sequence.

[1] Lit. place — [2] *ἀκολουθία* — [3] Lit. understanding, *πραγματεία* — [4] Or: anathemas — [5] Exod. XXIII, 7 — [6] Cf. Exod. XXIII, 2 — [7] This is a different translation from the version in Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 12,181, fol. 17b and Ms. Add. 14,600, fol. 18ab.

[XXXV]

OF SEVERUS FROM THE LETTER REGARDING ANATHEMA AND SUSPENSION DURING THE PERSECUTION THIS WAS (WRITTEN) TO JŌḤANNĀN SCHOLASTICUS OF BOSṬRĀ BECAUSE THIS JŌḤANNĀN HAD ASKED THE HOLY (SEVERUS).

A *rīšdairā* clothed two men with a habit [1], and either together or in different times through his mediation made them deacons. Afterwards they cleaved to one another and departed from the monastery. He, however, after they departed, stated that their joining together with one another was in a mutually blameworthy manner, and he sent the anathema through a man to them that they should not be together at all and not speak with one another and drink wine. But they despised the sentence and on the same day they were together, ate and drank. What shall be (a judgment) for them?

The holy (Severus) wrote the reply in the letter of answers from him. for them.

If the *rīšdairā* previously, while they still were with him as brothers, blamed them regarding these things, he has a reason [2] for his ordinance [3] now that they have left. If, however, this did not take place until the time they abandoned him, his ordinance [4] is not to be acceptable for them.

For it is lawful for every one who wishes to depart from the monastery (to do so) whenever he wishes, and there is no compulsion at all regarding the monasteries as is (the case) in the churches. * A *rīšdairā* who has passed a sentence against those who have departed, if he has not shown something against them before they departed, shall absolve his sentence. * p. 198

If he does not absolve, the bishop shall absolve them, and shall impose his punishment because they despised the sentence and kept it not.

His judgment shall heal them through penitence.

[1] σχῆμα — [2] Lit. place — [3] Lit. word — [4] Lit. word.

[XXXVI]

OF THE SAME. FROM THE LETTER OF THE VENERABLE SEVERUS TO JOHN THE ROMAN [1] ABOUT THE HOLY MYRON.

Now, because the seal by the myron by which <those who have been baptized> are sealed after baptism... [2]

[XXXVII]

<CANONS>

. . . . . .

⟨4.⟩ ... every presbyter or deacon or subdeacon who is in town and is not ill and at the times of the services, and particularly of these which are eucharistic [1], does not go to the church and does not take (his) place in his (appointed) order, shall be suspended from the service as seems right to the bishop as to what is fitting for him.

5. Every time the bishop is away the archdeacon shall divide the (assignments for) offerings to the presbyters.

* p. 199 * 6. A deacon or subdeacon when they are ordered by the archdeacon that they read the (sacred) books and who afterwards abandon their assignment and depart, the archdeacon shall impose on them a judgment as he thinks right.

7. The archdeacon shall inquire and investigate (the persons) one by one.

No one of the presbyters or deacons or subdeacons or the *benai qeyāmā* [2] shall advise him.

It is not lawful for him to go to town or village or to another place, but it is right for him to serve in the holy church, bravely and lucidly.

[1] This renders the original στρατιώτην; cf. *Catena in Acta*, ed. CRAMER, p. 131 — [2] Cf. Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 17,193, fol. 12a.

[1] Or: liturgical; lit. mystical — [2] "Sons of the covenant".

He shall be a good example to many because he is a lamp of the church and the light before the bishop in his word and his teaching.

8. It is not lawful for a bishop to ordain presbyters and deacons in ordinary places, except in the church before the altar.

9. The one who does not sing the entire Psalter cannot be appointed even as a subdeacon. If there is one who is ignorant, he shall be constrained to learn [3].

[XXXVIII]

FROM THE LETTER OF THE HOLY BASILIUS TO CHOREPISCOPOI ON BISHOPS TO BE CLASSED AS THOSE WHO TAKE MONEY FROM ORDINATION, (NAMELY) AFTERWARDS.

As (an act of) blessing which does evil in the guise [1] of good it deserves a double punishment. * They think that they do not sin because they * p. 200 take (the money) not before but after the ordination. But "to take" is whenever (it takes place). Therefore, do not honor the idols above Christ for the sake of money and do not resemble Judas [2] as through gains you betray, for the second time the one who once was crucified for us. And if not — also those fields as well as hands of those who take such profits [3] shall be called Aqeldama [4].

[XXXIX]

THE TEACHING OF ADDAÏ, THE APOSTLE WHO GAVE INSTRUCTION TO 'ŪRHĀI [1] AND BĒT NAHRĪN [2]

(Concerning the time) when Christ was taken up into heaven to His Father, and how the apostles received the gift of the Spirit and

[3] Since a folio leaf of the manuscript has fallen out, this very interesting cycle of canons is without beginning.

[1] σχῆμα — [2] Cf. Mark XIV, 10 f. — [3] Lit. fruits; cf. τοὺς καρποὺς, BASILIUS, *Epistola* LIII, PG XXXII, col. 400 — [4] Matth. XXVII, 8; Acts I, 19.

[1] The indigenous term for Edessa — [2] Mesopotamia.

the ordinances and laws of the church and where every one of the apostles went and from whence the countries in the territory of the Romans received the ordination into priesthood.

In the year 339 of the kingdom of the Greeks, in the month Ḥezīrān [3] on the fourth day of the same, the first day of the week and the end of Pentecost — on the self-same day, the apostles to an ever increasing degree were praising God because they saw His ascension as He had said to them.

And they rejoiced because they received the gift and right hand of the priesthood of the house of Moses and Aaron.

And from thence, they ascended and went to the upper room where our Lord has observed the Pascha [4] with His disciples, the place where the inquiries had been made: "Who is it that should deliver our Lord to the crucifixion?"

There also were made inquiries how they should announce His resurrection and His Gospel in the world. And as within the upper
* p. 201 room * our Lord began the mystery of His body and of His blood to prevail in the world, so also thence did the teaching of His preaching begin to have authority in the world.

And when the disciples were cast into perplexity as to how they should preach His Gospel to men of strange tongues, tongues which were unknown to them, they were speaking thus to one another: "Although we are confident that Christ will perform by our hands mighty works and miracles before strange nations whom we do not know and yet who shall teach them, in their language — and who themselves also are unversed in our own tongue — and make them understand that it is by the name of Christ who was crucified that these mighty works and miracles are done?" While the disciples were (absorbed) in these thoughts, Simon Cephas rose und and said to them: "My brethren, this matter as to how we shall preach His Gospel in the world is not ours (to decide) and we trust in His care for us, which He has promised to us saying: 'When I am ascended to my Father I shall send you the Paraclete that He shall teach you everything which it is necessary for you to know and to make known'" [5]. And as Simon Cephas was saying these things to his fellow apostles, a sweet odor which is strange to the world breathed upon them and tongues of fire,

[3] June — [4] πάσχα. Cf. Acts I, 12 ff. — [5] John XIV, 26 — [6] A tradition which is taken from the primitive form of the Syriac text of Acts II, 2.

between the voice and the odor, came down from heaven towards them and alighted and sat on everyone of them [7]. And according to the tongue which every one of them had severally received accordingly did he prepare himself to go to the country in which that tongue was spoken and heard. And by the same gift of the Spirit which was given to them on that day, they constituted (canons) and set up ordinances and laws — those in accordance with the Gospel of their preaching and with a true and faithful doctrine of their teaching:

1. The apostles therefore constituted: Pray towards the East, because "as the lightning which lightens from the East and is seen even to the West, so shall the coming of the Son of Man be" [8]. By this, shall we know and understand that He appears from the East at the last.

2. The apostles further constituted: On the first day of the week, there shall be * service and the reading of the holy Scriptures and the offering, because on that first day of the week, He rose from the place of the dead and on the first day of the week, He ascended up to heaven and on the first day of the week, He will appear at the last with His holy angels. * p. 202

3. The apostles further constituted: On the fourth day of the week there shall be a service, because on that day our Lord revealed to them about His suffering and His crucifixion and His death and His resurrection; and the disciples were in sorrow about this.

4. The apostles further constituted: On the *'arūbtā* [9] at the ninth hour, there shall be a service, because that which had been spoken on the fourth day of the week about the suffering of our Savior was brought to pass on the same eve, the worlds and creatures trembling and luminaries in the heaven being darkened.

5. The apostles further constituted: There shall be elders and deacons, like the Levites, and subdeacons, like those who carried the vessels of the court of the sanctuary of the Lord; and an overseer [10] who shall likewise be the guide of all the people like Aaron, the head and chief of all the priests and Levites of the whole camp.

6. The apostles further constituted: Make the day of His epiphany,

[7] Cf. Acts II, 3 — [8] Matth. XXIV, 27 — [9] The day of preparation, esp. the eve of the Sabbath, Friday — [10] ܥܡܘܪܐ, one who observes, a watchman; its corresponding Greek term is not *ἐπίσκοπος* but *σκοπός*.

which is the chief of the festivals of the church, on the sixth day of the *Kanūn ḥrāi* [10] in the long reckoning of the Greeks [12].

7. The apostles further constituted: Forty days before the day of the passion of our Savior, you shall fast and then observe the day of the passion and of the resurrection, because our Lord Himself also, the Lord of the festival, fasted forty days and Moses and Elijah who were imbued with this mystery likewise fasted forty days and they were glorified.

8. The apostles further constituted: At the conclusion of all the Scriptures, the Gospel shall be read as being the sealer of all the Scriptures; and let the people listen to it standing upon their feet, because it is the Gospel of the redemption for all men.

* p. 203 9. The holy apostles further constituted: Upon the completion * of fifty [11] days after His resurrection, you shall make a commemoration of the ascension of our Lord into heaven to His Father.

10. The apostles further constituted: The one who does not know the faith of the church and the ordinances and the laws which are constituted in it shall not be a guide and ruler; the one who knows them and trespasses against them shall not serve again.

11. The apostles further constituted: Whosoever swears and lies or bears false witness or goes to magicians and soothsayers and Chaldaeans and puts confidence in fates and nativities, something which they who do not know God hold fast, he also, as a man who does not know God, shall be rejected from the ministry and he shall not serve.

12. The apostles further constituted: If there be any man who is divided in mind about the ministry and is not loyal to it he shall

[10] January — [11] This archaic liturgical tradition which placed the celebration of ths Ascension on the Pentecost. was adjusted to the advanced liturgical practice and this ie reflected also in the manuscripts of the canons. This is demonstrated not only by Ms. Paris Syr. 62, but by a number of newly discovered new witnesses : Ms. Mardin Orth. 309; Ms. Mardin Orth. 320; Ms. Jerusalem St. Mark 153; Ms. Midyat Gülçe 4 and Ms. Za'farān 2/1. In the revised form, which replaced "fifty days" by "forty days", the canon was included into the Syriac Didascalia, *Didascalia apostolorum in Syriac*, p. 28, and into the codification work of 'Abdīšō', *Collectio canonum*, p. 170. In view of this powerful trend, it is very noteworthy that the Synodicon has retained the archaic form of the canon. — [12] Here the numbering departs from that given by the cycle of the canons. This is caused by the omission of can. 10, which obviously appeared as too archaic to be included. It reads : The apostles constituted, that, except the Old Testament and the Prophets and the Gospel, and the Acts of their triumphs, let not any thing be read on the *bema* of the church. About the transmission of the text in the manuscript tradition, see Vööbus, *The Canons in the Doctrine of Addai*.

not serve again because he is not loyal to the Lord of the ministry and (in fact) he deceives men only and not God, "before whom crafty devices avail not" [13].

13. The apostles further constituted: Whosoever lends and receives usury and is occupied in merchandise and covetousness, this man shall not serve again and shall not be in the ministry.

14. The apostles further constituted: Whosoever loves the Jews like Judas, who loved them, or the pagans, who worshipped creatures instead of the Creator, shall not enter in amongst them and serve; and, moreover, if he is already amongst them, they shall not leave him, but he shall be separated from them and shall not serve with them.

15. The apostles further constituted: If anyone of the Jews comes and joins himself with them and if, after he has joined himself with them, he turns and goes back again to the side on which he stood before and if he again returns and comes to them a second time — he shall not be received again — but according to the side on which he was before, so should those who know him look upon him.

16. The apostles further constituted: It should not be permitted * to the leader to transact the matters which pertain to the church apart from those who serve with him; but that he should give orders with the counsel of them all and that that only should be done which all of them concur in and do not disapprove. * p. 204

17. The apostles further constituted: For all those who shall depart from this world with a good testimony to the faith of Christ and in afflictions because of His name, you shall make a commemoration for them on the day on which they were killed.

18. The apostles further constituted: In the service of the church, you shall say the praises of David day by day because of this (word), "I will bless the Lord at all times and at all times His praises are in my mouth" [14], and "By day and by night will I meditate and speak and cause my voice to be heard" [15].

19. The holy apostles further constituted: Those who divest themselves from mammon and do not run after the gain of money shall be chosen and called to the ministry of the church.

20. The apostles further constituted: A priest who accidentally binds (another) contrary to justice shall receive the punishment in (all)

[13] I Sam. II, 3 — [14] Ps. XXXIV, 1 — [15] Ps. I, 2.

righteousness; but he that has been bound shall receive bondage as if rightly bound.

21. The apostles further constituted: If it be heard that those who are accustomed to hear trials have respect of persons and condemn the innocent and acquit the guilty, they shall not hear another trial, receiving again the rebuke because of their partiality.

22. The apostles further constituted: Those who are high-minded and lifted up in arrogance of pride shall not be admitted to the ministry because "that which is exalted among men is abominable before God" [16] and because concerning them it is said, "I will return (a recompense) upon those that vaunt themselves" [17].

* p. 205 * 23. The apostles further constituted: There shall be a superintendent [18] over the elders who are in the churches of the villages and he shall be recognized as the head of them all, at whose hand all of them shall be required (to obey), for Samuel [19] also thus made visits from place to place and gave orders.

24. The apostles further constituted: Those kings, who in the future shall believe in Christ, have the power to ascend and stand before the altar along with the leaders of the church, because David [20], also, and those who were like him ascended and stood before the altar.

25. The apostles further constituted: No man shall dare to do anything within the authority of the priesthood which is not in justice and equity but (only) in justice and uprightness and without censure and partiality.

26. The apostles further constituted: The bread of the offering shall be placed upon the altar on the day on which it is baked and not some days later — which is something that is not permitted.

All these things did the apostles constitute, not for themselves, but for those who should come after them for they were apprehensive and said that in time to come wolves shall put on sheep's clothing [21]. But for themselves the Spirit, the Paraclete, which was in them was sufficient that even as He had constituted these laws by their hands, so would He guide them lawfully. For they who had received from our Lord power and authority had no need that laws should be appointed for them by others. For Paul also and Timothy as they were going from place [22] to place in the countries of Syria and Cilicia committed

[16] Luke xvi, 15 — [17] Cf. Isa. ii, 12 — [18] ܡܕܒܪܢܐ director, a procurator — [19] I Sam. iii ff. — [20] II Sam. vi, 17 ff. — [21] Cf. Matth. vii, 15 — [22] Acts xvi, 4 f.

these same commands and laws of the apostles and elders to those who were under * the hand of the seniority, i.e., of the apostles for the churches of the countries in which they were preaching and proclaiming. * p. 206

The disciples, moreover, after they had constituted these ordinances and laws ceased not from the preaching of the Gospel or from the wonderful mighty works which He did through their hands. For many people were gathered about them every day who believed in Christ and who came to them from other towns to hear and receive their words.

But Nicodemus and Gamaliel, chief in the synagogue of the Jews, came to the apostles in secret, agreeing with their teaching. Judas, moreover, and Levi and Peri and Joseph and Justus, sons of Hananias, and Caiaphas and Alexandros the priests—they too came to the apostles by night and confessed the Son of God. But they were afraid of the people of their own nation so that they did not reveal their mind towards the disciples.

And the apostles received them affectionately saying to them: "Do not by reason of shame and the fear of men destroy your lives before God and have the blood of Christ required of you together with your fathers who have taken it upon them. For it is not acceptable before God that while you are with His worshippers, you should go and associate with the murderers of His adorable Son. How do you expect your faith to be accepted with that of those who are true while you are false? But it is right for you as men who believe in Christ that you should confess openly this faith which we preach".

And when they heard these things from the disciples, those sons of the priests cried out before the whole people and the apostles: "We confess and believe in Christ who was crucified and we confess that He is from everlasting the Son of God and we renounce those who dared to crucify Him; for even the priests of the people confess in secret but because of the rulership among the people which they loved, they do not wish to confess * openly; and they have forgotten that which is written: 'Of knowledge is He the Lord and before Him avail not crafty devices' " [23]. However, when their fathers heard these things from their sons, they threatened them greatly — not indeed because they had come to believe in Christ, but because they had revealed * p. 207

[23] Cf. Job v, 12 f.

and spread out openly the mind of their fathers before the sons of their people.

But those who believed cleaved to the disciples and departed not from them since they saw that whatsoever they taught the multitude, they themselves put into practice before everybody.

And when the suffering of persecution arose, the disciples rejoiced to suffer with them, with gladness receiving stripes and imprisonments because of the confession of faith in Christ. And all the days of their life, they preached Christ, our Lord, before the Jews and the Samaritans.

And after the death of the apostles, there were leaders and superintendents in the churches, also whatsoever the apostles had entrusted to them.

They too, again, at their deaths entrusted to their disciples after them everything they had received from the apostles; also what James had written from Jerusalem and Simon from the town of Rome and John from Ephesus and Mark from the great Alexandria and Andrew from Phrygia and Luke from Macedonia and Thomas from India : that the epistles of the Apostle Paul shall be received and read in the churches in every place just as (the Acts of) their Triumphs; and that the Acts of the Apostles, those which Luke the Evangelist wrote, shall be read, that thereby the apostles might be known and the prophets and the Old Testament and the New.

One truth was preached by them all, that one Holy Spirit spoke in them all from one God whom they had all worshipped and had all preached.

* p. 208 * And (many) countries received their teaching. Everything, therefore, which had been spoken by our Lord through the apostles and which the apostles had delivered to their disciples was believed and received in every country by the intimation of our Lord who had said to them : "I am with you even until the end of the world" [24].

The leaders were disputing with the Jews from the books of the prophets and were wrestling also with the deluded pagans via the mighty works which they did in the name of Christ.

But all the peoples, even those dwelling in other countries quietly and silently, (received) the Gospel of Christ.

And those who confessed cried out under their persecution : "This,

[24] Matth. xxviii, 20.

our persecution today, shall be an advocate [25] for us because we were formerly persecutors". For there were some of them against whom death by the sword was ordered, and there were some of them from whom they took away whatsoever they possessed and dismissed them. But the more the affliction arose against them, (the more did) their congregations become richer and the more did they increase. And with gladness in their hearts, they were receiving death of every kind.

And through the ordination into the priesthood which the apostles themselves had received from our Lord, their Gospel winged its way easily into the four quarters of the world. And while they visited one another, they served one another.

HOW THE COUNTRIES WHICH BELIEVED HAVE RECEIVED THE PRIESTHOOD

Jerusalem received the ordination into the priesthood and all the country of Palestine and the parts of the Samaritans and the Philistines and the country of the Arabians and Phoenicia and the people of Caesarea from James who was the superintendent [26] and leader [27] in the church of the apostles which was built in Zion.

The great Alexandria * and Thebais and the whole of Inner Egypt and all the country of Pelusium and (that territory) up to the borders of the Indians received the apostles' ordination to the priesthood from Mark the Evangelist who was the superintendent and leader in the church which he had built and served there. * p. 209

India and all its countries roundabout up to the farthest sea received the apostles' ordination to the priesthood from Thomas who was their leader and superintendent in the church which he had built there and he served there.

Antioch, Syria, Cilicia and Galatia up to Pontus received the apostles' ordination to the priesthood from Simon Cephas, the one who laid the foundation of the church there and was priest and served there up to the time he went up from thence (to Rome), because of Simon Magus who was deluding the people of Rome.

The town of Rome and all Italy and Spain and Britain and Gaul together with the rest of the countries roundabout them received the

[25] ܣܘܢܗܕܪܘܣ, *συνήγορος* — [26] See footnote 18 — [27] ܡܬܝܫܐ, a leader, ruler.

apostles' ordination to the priesthood from Simon Cephas who went up from Antioch and he was the superintendent, i.e., a leader there.

Ephesus and Thessalonica and all Asia and all the country of the Corinthians and of all Achaia and of those round about it received the apostles' ordination to the priesthood from John the Evangelist who at the (Last) Supper had leaned upon the bosom of the Lord, who himself built a church there and served in his leadership there.

Nicaea and Nicomedia and all the country of Bithynia and of Gothia and of the regions round about it, received the apostles' ordination to the priesthood from Andrew, the brother of Simon Cephas, who was himself the leader and superintendent in the church which he had built there and was priest and served (there).

* p. 210 * Byzantium and all the country of Thrace and of those about it up to the boundary which separates it from the desert received the apostles' ordination to the priesthood from Luke the Apostle who built a church there and served there in his office of rulership and governorship.

'Ūrhāi and all the countries round about it, which are on all sides of it, and Sōbā [28] and Arabia and all the north and the regions round about it and the south and the borders of Bēt Nahrīn received the apostles' ordination to the priesthood from Addai the Apostle, one of the seventy-two apostles who instructed there and was a priest and served there in his office of governorship.

The whole of Persia, of the Assyrians and of the Armenians and of the Medians and of the countries round about Babylon, Bēt Hūzzāyē and Geliyē up to the borders of the Indians and up to the land of Gog and Magog and all the other countries on all sides received the apostles' ordination to the priesthood from Aggai the Apostle, a maker of silks, the disciple of Addai the Apostle.

The other remaining companions of the apostles moreover went to the distant countries of the barbarians. And they instructed from place to place and passed on. And there they served by their preaching. And there, their departure out of this world took place; (then) their disciples after them were going on up to this day; and no change or addition was made by them to their preaching.

Luke the Evangelist, moreover, was so possessed by concern that he wrote the victories of the deeds of the apostles and the ordinances

[28] Nisibis.

and the laws of the ministry of their priesthood and whither each one of them went. By his diligence, therefore, Luke wrote these things and more than these, and he placed them in the hands of Priscilla and Aquilus, his disciples. And they accompanied him up to the day of his death just as Timothy and * Erastus of Lystra and Menil [29], * p. 211 the first disciples of the apostles, accompanied Paul.

[XL]

PROFITABLE AND GOOD QUESTIONS WHICH PRESBYTER SARGĪS ASKED FROM THE VENERABLE AND HOLY BISHOP MĀR JŌḤANNĀN, HIS TEACHER

1. The disciple asked. If there is a vessel used for the sacrifice. what should be done with a vessel which because of its smallness, is not useful now? What is lawful (to do) with it?

The teacher. If it is necessary to make the vessel larger (it is not reprehensible) that it is transformed. As to the necessary complement which has been bought (it is in order) when a prayer is said over it.

2. The disciple. If one of the sacred vases is broken, what is lawful to do with its fragments?

The teacher. The fragments of this broken vase shall be placed in a honorable place, buried in the earth and concealed deeply.

3. The disciple. If one of the sacred vessels is washed, where is it lawful for the waters (of the purification) to be poured?

The teacher. It is lawful (the waters of purification) to be poured in a deep and decent place.

4. The disciple. If a particle of the pearl [1] of the sacred Body by accident falls to the ground and it cannot be found, I want to know whether an offense is (occasioned) by this?

The teacher. It is proper to search diligently for the fragment of the pearl that has fallen and if it is not found — leave it to the Supreme Knowledge. The one who administers the sacred ministries negligently is guilty, but not the one who treats them with fear and trembling.

[29] Cf. Acts XIII, 1.

[1] *μαργαρίτης*, a particle of the eucharistic bread.

* p. 212 * 5. The disciple. If a veil which has touched the eucharist is worn, what is the lawful thing that should be done with it?

The teacher. A veil or other objects (of sacrifice) which have become worn shall be preserved as follows: they shall be employed either for another honorable use or for the healing of the ulcers of the sick.

6. The disciple. If something of the holy blood falls on the ground, what is the lawful thing that should be done with this place?

The teacher. If it fell by the cause of the one who gave the cup, he shall receive the canon (of punishment); but the place where it fell — it is proper for burning coals to be placed on it.

7. The disciple. If it happens that the communion is given to one tempted (by the demons) or to one who secretes pus without the one who distributes recognizing (the illness) at the time they receive it— whether by the operation of the demon or by the distress of the illness — and the pearl is hindered and does not pass from the mouth into the throat or even falls from the mouth to the ground — what is the lawful thing to do with him who gave (communion) when such a thing happens in his presence?

The teacher. The matter is sad when the pearl of the eucharist is given to a person possessed and that one does not know this — or (given) to a person who secretes pus; (if it happens) that for some reason it does not pass from the mouth into the throat or if it falls from the mouth to the ground, the priest who has given the pearl shall take it up or keep it for the person who secretes pus for another day.

8. The disciple. Is it permissible to send the pearl in a basket [2] to a sick person? If this be permitted, whether through a layman or for lack of a layman, through a woman?

The teacher. If the pearl is sent in a basket, it may happen that the pearl may be broken and the basket, or (it could be sent) in a clean paper — the mind (of the fathers) is divided regarding this; but it would be better to be sent in a piece of linen or in a pure paper and then to burn the paper in fire. The eucharist can be sent through a * p. 213 layman or through * a woman, particularly in times of suffering.

9. The disciple. Is it permissible for a man who has drunk water before early dawn, whatever the moment, to take the communion (on that day)?

The teacher. If a person has drunk water before the time and he

[2] ܩܢܛܪܘܢ, *canistrum*.

is fasting, I believe it is proper that he approach the communion and take the eucharist if his conscience is tranquil.

10. The disciple. Is it permissible that another takes the pearl by which the cup has been (designated) or the one who designated it?

The teacher. Every time the deacon distributes the cup, he takes the pearl by which the cup was designated. We do not find any commandment (regarding) this.

11. The disciple. Is it lawful for a priest to take a pearl from the sacred table and bring it out in his hand and give to someone outside the sanctuary?

The teacher. For the reason of reverence for the eucharist, it is proper to carry and give the pearl on a paten; if, however, he carries a particle [3] in his hand at the same time as the cup (and he gives it to a person), this is not blameworthy.

12. The disciple. Is it proper that the bones of the holy martyrs shall be placed on the altar?

The teacher. The bones of the holy martyrs are honorable, they do miracles and heal the sick, but it is not proper (for them) to be placed on the altar continually.

13. The disciple. Is it permissible in a necessity that somebody shall designate the cup without a consecrated tablet [4].

The teacher. If there is no altar and there is a necessity to consecrate a cup, it shall be signed without hesitation.

14. The disciple. If the sponge which has been used for the chalice is worn out, what is the lawful thing to do with it?

The teacher. Either it remains as preserved or it shall be burned in order that it would not be despised or thrown away.

* 15. The disciple. Is it lawful for the table of holiness to be washed or anointed with (the oil) of perfume in honor of the festival? * p. 214

The teacher. We have not even learned this, that it is lawful for the table of holiness to be washed and to be anointed. However at the time of the feast of the unleavened bread, since the altar is undressed and emptied, the priests go over all (the altar) with aromatic waters with a sponge, except the tablet.

16. The disciple. Can there be an urgent necessity for a person to take communion after he has eaten?

The teacher. I say that the communion shall be given to the sick

[3] Lit. fiery coal — [4] ܛܒܠܐ, *tabula*.

one because of the necessity of succor and for this reason, he shall not be deprived of the sacred mysteries.

17. The disciple. Is it permissible for someone to receive the sacred (mysteries) on the great days of the mystery or on that of the Gospel if the water has gone down into his throat without his will as he washed his mouth or for a cause of sickness of the mouth or if some medicine [5] has been inhaled or when gargling his throat that nothing has gone into the throat?

The teacher. On the days of the mysteries or on that of the Gospel when someone has washed his mouth and water has gone down into his throat but without his will, he shall not (for this reason) be deprived of the communion of life. If his mouth is afflicted, he shall believe in God and that He heals him without gargling and without medicine, if he shall dedicate himself without gargling out of respect for the holy eucharist.

18. The disciple. Is it a mistake if a man employs objects of the pagans in the sanctuary?

The teacher. It is very shameful and strange when someone employs objects of the pagans in a sanctuary; it is not possible to make remembrance before God of those who are deprived of God.

19. The disciple. If someone has taken the offering and has served the cup, if there is an urgent necessity, can he afterwards sign the cup (anew)?

The teacher. If he has served only the cup and afterwards it is
* p. 215 necessary for him * to sign the cup, God is a witness [6] that this is not blameworthy; however, it should not happen that this should become a habit.

20. The disciple. If, while one sleeps, blood goes from his nose into the throat — is it permissible for him to take the communion?

The teacher. If one feels that the blood has gone down from his nostrils into his throat, and this occurs to him rarely, it would be good to abstain on that day; but if this happens continually, he shall not be deprived of the reception of the communion.

21. The disciple. Is it blameworthy when a man sleeps and it happens that he has a carnal [7] vision [8] and he (afterwards) participates in the mysteries?

The teacher. With regard to the carnal vision which can occur to

[5] Lit. root, medical herb — [6] Lit. faithful — [7] Lit. vision of the body — [8] φανταsία.

anyone in sleep and that it is lawful to participate in the mysteries, you find this in the questions of Basilius and the canons. God's mercies are numerous.

22. The disciple. Is there an urgent case which makes the secular not reprehensible when he enters the sanctuary without permission, for instance, if he is fleeing because of a transgression or on account of some cause of sickness?

The teacher. If a secular enters the sanctuary because of a transgression, I think that he is not reprehensible; this, however, does not free him from his transgression.

23. The disciple. Is it permissible for a member of our service to eat with the heretics, making a sign of the cross, if the necessity of the journey arises for him?

The teacher. The canon does not permit one to eat with the heretics, whether this one makes the sign of the cross or he does not make it, even if he has the necessity of a journey.

24. The disciple. Is it free from blame if someone receives something because of his need?

The teacher. Perfection demands that one receives * nothing, but as * p. 216 certain ones receive not only from those (of heretics) but even from pagans — (what can I say?); it is necessary to remain silent.

25. The disciple. Is it blameworthy that the heretics greet the faithful by natural affection, though our thought does not agree with them at all?

The teacher. As it is by affection that the heretics wish to greet us, by kissing hands and the head, but we do not give them a kiss on the mouth; I think there is nothing blameworthy, (namely) in the hope that this shall be profitable for them.

26. The disciple. Is it an error if, because of the necessity of this time, when one of our fellow faithful dies in the village or town, that the heretics administer (his funeral), since this does not agree with his will?

The teacher. In this time, the heretics administer many of our dead fellow faithful who die in the villages and towns for they do not permit us to administer to the deceased before the tenth day except in the house only, and I do not think this brings us any blame.

27. The disciple. Is it blameworthy to place (a faithful) into the tombs of heretics?

The teacher. If there is no necessity due to the lack of tombs for a

faithful one, it is unlawful that they put them into the tombs of the heretics.

28. The disciple. If a faithful takes an oath from his closest persons that after his death they shall not do one of these (rituals) for him; and if there are no faithful (to arrange the funeral) can one bury his body without the service of the adversaries?

* p. 217 * The teacher. Because of the oath that these (heretics) should not do anything for him, his close ones shall take care in whatever way possible that the faithful bury him; but if this is not possible, one is bound not to bury without the service because many things stem from it.

29. The disciple. Is it possible to complete the baptism without the holy myron so that one is baptized only by the oil of prayer?

The teacher. Without the sacred oil, i.e., without the divine myron, baptism is not completed.

30. The disciple. Is it lawful to throw (the water) of baptism without prayer through the water in which the priest has only washed his hands? [9]

The teacher. These (things) occur so as the custom is — there is nothing blameworthy on this in the divine canons; however, these do not deserve a disputation; therefore, the dissolution [10] whether by a prayer or through the water of washing of hands, is the same. (But it is not) lawful that all (the water) should by tnrown away.

31. The disciple. Is it permitted for a girl who has that (period) of women to enter the temple of God in order to pray?

The teacher. When she has that (period) of women it is permitted to her to enter the temple of God to pray, but the canons order her not to participate in the holy mysteries not because of her defilement, but because of reverence for the divine mysteries.

32. The disciple. Is it permitted a deaconess to give the eucharist to a male beginning with three years old and above?

* p. 218 * The teacher. It is not permitted to a deaconess to give communion to a male of five years of age and more.

[9] The meaning of the question becomes understandable only in the light of the liturgical practice. After the completion of the liturgical acts, the priest washes his hands in the baptismal basin and recites the prayer, called "Dissolution of water"; cf. *Codex liturgicus*, ed. Assemani III, p. 189. Then the water was poured into a decent place. Thus the meaning of the question is, whether this liturgical prayer was necessary. — [10] Lit. lossing (the efficacy of the consecration of the baptismal water).

33. The disciple. Is it permitted her to assume some of the functions of the service of the altar except for her family and for her sisters?

The teacher. The canon does not permit her at all to enter the sanctuary if there is a presbyter or a deacon; if there is a priest in their monasteries, it does not permit this to her.

34. The disciple. Is it permitted her to put incense and to raise her voice and make the prayers over the censer, in addition to the prayer of the penitent souls?

The teacher. It is not permitted her to raise her voice as she puts the incense; it is forbidden her also to say a prayer over the censer; but she shall offer to God the prayer of the penitent soul [11] with a contrite heart (in silence).

35. The disciple. Is it permitted her to wash the sacred vessels?

The teacher. It is permitted her to wash the sacred vessels.

36. The disciple. Is it permitted her when she has that (period) of women to give the communion or to serve the cup, if this is necessary?

The teacher. It is not permitted her when she has that (period) of women to enter (the sanctuary) and to touch the holy eucharist.

37. The disciple. Is it permitted her to mix the wine and water in the cup?

The teacher. By the permission of the bishop, she can mix the wine and water in the cup.

38. The disciple. Is it lawful for her in the need of sickness to charge a sister to touch the sacred vases?

The teacher. It is not lawful for her to allow a sister to touch * the sacred vases except if there is a grave reason of difficult sickness or pressing necessity. * p. 219

39. The disciple. Is it lawful for her to allow a sister to order candles [12], to enter the sanctuary or to arrange [13] it? Is it lawful for a presbyter to permit something like this because of the reason of sickness or is it not lawful for her (to do) these things without (turning) to the bishop?

The teacher. If she is vexed by suffering [14] and she cannot order the candles and enter the sanctuary and order it, it is permitted to arrange it. Times of urgency authorize (the regulation of matters) such as this without accuracy (in ecclesiastical sanction).

[11] In the *ordo poenitentiae* (at the beginning of the mass) — [12] *Candela* — [13] Lit. to gather — [14] On the margin the variant reads: sickness.

40. The disciple. Is it permitted a deaconess to enter the sanctuary without permission if she arrives at a chapel of the martyrs outside the monastery of men and women?

The teacher. It is not lawful for a deaconess to enter without permission the sanctuary of a chapel of martyrs of the monastery of men or women.

41. The disciple. Is it permitted her to read the "Lord of the world" as custom or is it permitted to them at all to read the sacred books in the assembly of the gathering of women?

The teacher. I think it is not proper to read the "Lord of the world" in the congregation.

However, it is not blameworthy to read (the sacred) books in the assembly or the gathering of women.

42. The disciple. Is it lawful for the Roman [15] Christians, being asked to make friendship with their Persian neighbors [16] and being asked that, together with the salt of their mediation, they give them the pearl [17] from the Body of our Lord because of the ratification of the covenant [18] among them, (to do so)?

The teacher. It is unlawful for Christians when being asked to make friendship with the Persians [19] to give a pearl of the Body; for it is proper that the salt [20] of their mediation is for the ratification of the obligations, those which among them have been promised and con-
* p. 220 firmed by oath — it shall * suffice for them, as those who are in the covenant, to take the testimony from them.

43 The disciple. If an altar of the heretics happens (to come into) our (possession), what is the lawful thing that one should do with it?

If necessary shall it be for the use of the sanctuary?

The teacher. It is not permitted that an altar of the Persian heretics [21] be put into the sanctuary.

There is no hindrance when it is placed in the diaconicon for an ordinary use.

44. The disciple. If one finds also their oblate [22], what is lawful to do with it?

[15] Christians in the Byzantine territory — [16] Jacobites in the Persian territory — — [17] μαργαρίτης — [18] Lit. agreement — [19] Jacobites under the Persian rule — [20] Cf. Num. XVIII, 19 — [21] The Nestorians. — [22] The term *qūrbānā* means an offering, the eucharistic oblation as well as an oblate.

The teacher. It is right to flee from their oblate as from a poison of death.

45. The disciple. If in the same way a horn [23] of their unction (is found) ?

The teacher. Their horn of unction, if it is of silver, shall be modified or shall be (used) for the oil of prayer.

46. The disciple. If it happens that there arrives to us a (sacred) table or a tablet [24] (of an altar) or a horn [25] of unction or even an oblation [26] of the Persians or the Romans and it is not known from whence these (objects) were taken but that they came to us. What is the lawful thing to do with it ?

The teacher. With regard to the altars which have come to us from the Persians, Mār Abas [27] has ordered (us to place them) in the sanctuary but never to offer (the mysteries) on them in the territory of Romans. But the oblation which is found in them should be placed in a venerable place or hidden in the earth or in a wall lest perchance an orthodox may come across it.

47. The disciple. What should one do when it happens that a tablet [28] is found and there are people who tell by hearsay from others that it has been consecrated by the orthodox ?

What is lawful to do with it ?

Is it proper to believe those who have heard that it is of the believers, * if they are trustworthy persons, or shall it be void for use as one that * p. 221 is from the heretics ?

The teacher. As we have said above concerning the altars which come from the territory of the Persians, the same (Mār Abas) has ordered regarding the sanctuary that (the eucharist) should never be offered on them.

If, however, regarding the tablet, trustworthy persons say that they have heard from others of this tablet that it has been consecrated by the orthodox, it shall be for the use of the sanctuary so that (the eucharist) is not offered on it at all.

48. The disciple. Is it proper that the tablet shall be anointed two times ?

The teacher. This should not be done at all.

Here end the questions proposed to Jōḥannān, the Bishop.

[23] Or : vessel — [24] ܛܒܠܐ, *tabula* — [25] Or : vessel — [26] Or : an oblate — [27] An author not known to us — [28] ܛܒܠܐ *tabula*

[XLI]

AGAIN, WE ARE WRITING ALL THE RESOLUTIONS [1] WHICH ARE IN THE WRITINGS [2] OF JA'QŌB OF 'ŪRHĀI, AND ALL THE CANONS MADE BY HIM, AND ALL THE QUESTIONS WHICH HAD BEEN TO HIM FROM JŌḤANNĀN THE STYLITE [3] AND FROM ABRAHAM THE RECLUSE [4] AND FROM THE PRESBYTER ADDAI AND FROM MANY OTHERS, AND ALL HIS ANSWERS TO THEM, EVERYTHING ABOUT THE WAYS OF THE HOLY CHURCH.

FIRST WHAT IS IN THE LETTER TO TŪMĀ THE RECLUSE ABOUT OFFERING THE SACRIFICE. EVERYTHING FROM HIM.

In (ancient) times they were doing so : First, they completed the reading of the sacred books. Then there was the proclamation of the
* p. 222 deacon. Then (came) the prayer over the hearers and then * the deacon said : "Go, all hearers."

Then they passed beneath the hand of the bishop or the presbyter and went forth. Afterwards there was the prayer over the energoumenous ones. In like manner the deacon was crying out and they were going out. After this the catechumens like them and the penitents like them. For there were four prayers on four orders and by the shouting of the deacon they were departing from the church.

Now, today, however all these things have vanished although the deacons now and then make mention of the shouting according to the ancient custom; now after this is the shouting of the deacon: "Let the doors be shut". Then the prayer of the (solemn) entrance shall be completed. Then the faith of the holy fathers shall be said by all the people in order that their hearts, mouths, souls and bodies shall be sanctified.

After this the holy fathers have said that while the doors are closed three prayers shall be said. Soon after the orders (of the liturgical offices) were established they made (three prayers), the one for the

[1] Lit. thoughts, opinions — [2] Lit. letter — [3] *'Esṭūnārā* — [4] *Ḥebīšāyā*.

peace, the other for the laying on of hands, and the other one with which the anaphora shall be uncovered, that through which they effect that also the doors of the heaven become opened.

After this the deacon, shouting, admonishes the people that they must be prepared with holy awe, and that the priest is about to begin the mystical service.

After this in (the ancient) times the priest was giving the peace, but the holy fathers (later) judged that instead of this he shall say, "The love of God the Father, the grace of the only-begotten Son and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit be with you all", and he shall sign the people with three crosses. Prior to beginning with the offering in order that they shall be purified and sanctified before (the sacred act) he shall begin the eucharistic [1] service. After this the priest says, "Lift up your hearts", and they answer, * "Our hearts are with the Lord". And then he says, "Let us give thanks in reverence" [2], and they answer him, "It is worthy and right". Through these words (which the priest says and the believers answer him and approve his intent [3]) they become one with him and he with them, one body of Christ and one perfect and doubtless mind. * p. 223

Then the priest, turning to God, from these words of consent makes a beginning of his words (to God).

Then he makes manifest to whom he prays and whom he calls upon, the one whom all created beings glorify, the visible [4] as well as spiritual [5], ascending (through prayer) to the holy seraphims. And the people answer thusly when they say: "Holy art Thou" ..., etc.

Then comes the mystical prayer, the one in which he commemorates the dispensation of the Lord and the gift of the sacred mysteries. The priest, standing erect and indicating this, makes three crossed signs on the offering and on the cup (also) three and says as from the mouth of the Lord, "Likewise do (this)...", etc., and the people answer, "My Lord, we remember Thy death and Thy resurrection...", etc.

Then the priest makes a prayer for the people as he commemorates the Son, His dispensation and the redeeming sufferings and asks pardon for the holy congregation.

Then he supplicates that the Holy Spirit may come and perfect the eucharist.

[1] Lit. mystical — [2] Lit. fear — [3] Lit. decision — [4] Or: sensible — [5] Or: intellectual.

Afterwards, however, he commemorates all those that it is right to commemorate and concludes all the prayers which are after (these parts of the liturgy).

After the completion of the whole order (of the commemoration), he gives peace to the people and seals them by three crossed signs as in the beginning and breaks and signs the sacred mysteries.

And after this he says (the prayer), "Our Father ...", and all the people pray the dominical prayer.

Afterwards (authoritative) men have devolved (to us) in the rite, * p. 224 also in the books, * that the priest shall give the peace anew to the people and make the prayer of the imposition of hands.

And after this, they have commanded that they shall bestow the grace of the Trinity on the people, also sealing three times with the cross. And the people shall answer him, "And with thy spirit".

Afterwards (they have ordered that) the priest shall admonish the people, "These holy things are given to the holy and pure and not to those who are not holy".

Then he shall lift up the mysteries and show them to all the people for testimony.

Then the people shall cry out the thanksgiving and shall consecrate thereby their mouth, "One Holy Father, one Holy Son, one Holy Spirit".

Afterwards, there is the reception of the mysteries and there shall be a confession and thanksgiving.

There shall (also) be the prayer of the imposition of hands.

Then the deacons shall tell them to go in peace.

Nevertheless the order of the commemoration varies in each (country).

In the land of the Greeks, they agree in the same way — so as we they make the offering to be perfected and then the order of the commemoration is begun; this is where the priest says, "We offer unto Thee the same sacrifice, this which is dreadful and bloodless for Zion, the mother of all the church which is the church of Jerusalem that was from the people of Israel, whose beginning was established by the apostles".

However, in the Alexandrian churches, they first complete the order of commemoration and then begin with the offerings; again (another) exception is this, that while with us the people say, "As it was and is

..."", etc., among them the priest completes it. In other places [6], however, instead of, "One Holy Father ...", etc., they say, "One Lord, one Son Jesus Christ to the glory of God the Father".

* [XLII] * p. 225

CONCERNING THE CROSSES AS TO HOW MANY ARE TO BE SIGNED OVER THE PEOPLE, AND HOW MANY ON THE MYSTERIES.

Over the mysteries, however, nine over the Body and nine over the cup, and nine over the people.

These, however, over the mysteries three times, every time three over the Body and three over the cup. The first time, indeed, when the priest says: "He gave thanks and blessed...", etc.; the second where he says: "Descend to make this bread Body and the cup Blood". The third (time) he signs when he breaks (the bread).

Over the people, however, after the following manner. When he says: "The love of God the Father ...", etc. The second time, however, when they complete the offering and prepare to break, and when the priest says: "The mercy of God the Father and our Savior Jesus Christ be with us all". The third (time) when all the order of the service is completed and he is ready to extol the holy mysteries saying: "The grace of the Holy Trinity without creation and consubstantial be with you all".

But before the priest signs the people by the cross, first he shall sign himself and then the deacons who stand at the south side, then those at the north (side of the altar), and then he shall sign the people. But if there are no priests or deacons standing at the sides, he shall make (the sign) for himself and for the people.

There is no necessity for the priest to say the *qānūnē* [1] which the deacons speak. However, if there is no one to answer the priest after

[6] See the earliest texts in a palimpsest manuscript, Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 14,496, fol. 3b-42, of the 10th cent. However, this text is defective at the beginning. This commentary has been included into a very precious and unique corpus of commentaries on the liturgy of the eucharist, in Ms. Istanbul Mariem Ana 7; cf. Vööbus, *Notes on Syriac Manuscripts* I.

[1] Appointed chants; short metrical farcings of psalms.

* p. 226 him when he says, "Lift up your hearts" and * "Let us give thanks unto the Lord" and "The holy to the holies", it is right for the priest to say all (namely), that what is his (part) and that of the people, and to neglect nothing of those things.

However, when there is the time for prayers of the morning and the evening and you have no incense, perform the prayers without incense because they are received even when you say the words to be said over the incense without incense. There is no deficiency in this because God accepts the words (of the prayer) without the fire and incense.

[XLIII]

AGAIN, OF THE SAME JA'QŌB TO TŪMĀ THE RECLUSE CONCERNING THE SIGNING OF THE CUP

When there are no believing people in the vicinity and one who is alone like you are, and he wants to perform such, it is granted to his own discretion and there is no blame.

And when he wishes to sign for himself the holy cup — when there are *ḥabišāyē* [1], presbyters and deacons fittingly, he is not entitled without incense or with incense. If he wishes to say one of those fixed prayers or all of them, he is allowed this.

If he wishes to sign without a prayer quietly especially according to the circumstances given by the time (he may) — only all without laziness but with a mind that is removed from negligence and contempt. For God judges whisperings of the mind of man, and in this God demands only that which is according to the strength.

* p. 227 * [XLIV]

OF THE SAME TO TŪMĀ THE RECLUSE CONCERNING THIS WHETHER IT IS RIGHT TO LET THE HOLY CUP STAY OVER FROM ONE DAY TO ANOTHER NOT BEING SERVED

Although many things because of urgent reasons are allowed to take place in the church, it is not lawful that they are being done continually nor that it becomes the custom and they take place in all places.

[1] Recluses.

One of them is concerning that which you have asked, that is to say, if for some reason it may be kept over (night).

One is as follows : it is not lawful that the cup is left to pass the night so that a transgression contrary (to the tradition) should take place and an error shall occur, and by being kept over (night) it shall be corrupted and because of this it shall anger God; and there shall be guilt for those who despise and there shall be for them the punishment of death from God.

For also in the holy book of Leviticus it is written that the punishment of death is threatened by God concerning that which remained of the goat of the expiation and what the priests did not eat in the evening and was left over until the morning [1].

Perchance, indeed, an occasion of trespassing may cause you an error, therefore it is not lawful at all that the cup shall be left over from one day to another day. Excepted are only these two occasions.

It is necessary to keep the cup over either because of the sick persons and of those who are afflicted coming to the end of life and ask to receive the last provisions [2] (for eternity) or because of the fasters who fast until late night. When this takes place doubtless it is necessary * that it shall pass the night for one night. But with the exception * p. 228 of these occasions it is not lawful at all for it to pass the night but from day to day it shall be served and the holy mysteries shall be honored (in this way). For it is evident and manifest to everyone that when there is the holy Body (available) it is very easy (to sign the cup) and he who wishes can quickly prepare the holy cup — if you wish three times in one week — if urgent reasons call for this.

[XLV]

THE ORDER OF HOLY BAPTISM

Regarding the order of baptism we give our explanation according to what we have received from the holy fathers without addition and without omission. The whole order of the holy baptism is divided into two rituals [1].

The first ritual is the prayer over the catechumens. This prayer

[1] Lev. xxii, 30 — [2] ܙܘܕܘܢܐ ܕܡܘܬܐ, viaticum, victuals for the last journey.

[1] Lit. order.

(however) is not found in all the manuscripts. After this is the prayer which the priest prays for himself whose beginning is, "O Lord God, omnipotent who knowest the minds of men". The third (prayer) is for the catechumens which is said with incense, before those to be baptized are written down, whose beginning is, "O giver of light". These three prayers the fathers have determined to be said before the consecration of baptism just as three prayers are said before (consecration of) the holy oblation. Afterwards are written down those to be baptized and are sealed on their foreheads in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. Then they rise in an orderly line when the priest, turning to the West towards them, prays the prayer before the exorcism whose beginning is, "Thee I call, Lord God, omnipotent". Then he says the exorcism against the adversary,
* p. 229 using thereby no material [2] thing, * because he who exorcises with anything (else) except by God is laughed at by the demons and is numbered together with the servants of the creation. After this he asks them to renounce Satan and all that belongs to him. Then they turn towards the East and surrender to Christ believing in Him and His Father and His Holy Spirit. Then the priest offers for them a prayer of thanksgiving that they have been considered worthy to become Christians. This is the first ritual (of the order of baptism). According to the ancient custom of the church those who were named as Christians had to wait a long time and then were baptized. Then when they wanted to be baptized they would enter into the baptistery and these things would take place for them.

In the second ritual they first say the whole, "We believe in one God ..." Then the priest says, "Peace be with you all", and he prays for them the prayer whose beginning is, "Holy Father who through the holy apostles ..." Then he seals them with the sacred oil and they stand naked until he prays the prayer whose beginning is, "O giver of holiness and Savior of the race of human beings". Then he prays over the water and says the prayer whose beginning is, "Thou hast given us the fountain of true purity". Then he prays the other prayer whose beginning is, "O Lord God, omnipotent, the creator of the whole creation", at the same time blowing three times over the water in the form of the cross and saying: "Let the head of the dragon be broken". After the completion of the prayer he pours the holy myron

[2] Lit. from created things.

over the water three times in the form of the cross and he prays the prayer whose beginning is, "He who on His only-begotten Son who established the administration [3] of baptism on the earth ..." Then the priest baptizes them in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. Then he seals them with the holy myron as consummation and as a proof that they are soldiers [4] of God, as he says, "Let Thy servants receive this seal [5] in Thy name". * Then also * p. 230 at the completion of this second ritual the priest offers a prayer of thanksgiving saying, "Blessed art Thou, O Lord God, omnipotent, the source of all kindnesses" [6]. And if he wants to say another prayer, he may say it. After this they go to the holy church and participate in the holy mysteries with all the believers. Concerning these it is not lawful to add nor to take away anything; (for) these are not left to the authority of the priest.

That thus there are two rituals is evident from this (fact) that the priest twice offers the prayer of confession and of thanksgiving. This (much) about these matters.

[XLVI]

THE SAME (JA'QŌB) ON THE BLESSING OF THE WATER

Know, now, O spiritual brother, that not all these (traditions) which are in this (liturgical) arrangement, held now in the church, have been kept among the people of Christians since the beginning. But little by little (these arrangements) grew and were slowly established by additions and inventions gradually.

(As to) this order of the blessing of the water — not even a mention[1] appears in the church of God at all, just as even now it is not found at all with the people of the Alexandrians nor with those who are in Egypt.

However, when this (liturgical) order began to be formed [2], the priest used to say only one prayer what he liked.

[3] Or: dispensation — [4] Phil. II, 25 — [5] ܚܬܡܐ, σφραγίς — [6] Or: virtues — [7] What the ancient witness in Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 14,496, fol. 23b has preserved, is not more than a fragment.

[1] Lit. memory — [2] Lit. apprehended.

Later, however, it was Proclus, bishop of one of the towns of the island of Cyprus, that holy man and teacher, who composed that great
* p. 231 prayer which is placed into this (liturgical) order whose * beginning is : "Great art Thou, O Lord, and Thy works are admirable." And only this prayer he used to say over the water.

The whole prayer was known to Epiphanius, archbishop of Cyprus. He added to it what (is found) in other prayers, namely : "The head of the man-killing dragon shall be bruised." He used this prayer only.

Afterwards, however, the undertakings [3] were augmented by the holy fathers so that there were, including the first one, four prayers without any (further) addition, since they set a limit that there should be in them no addition nor any omission. Nevertheless in the ancient manuscripts only three (prayers) are written [4].

[XLVII]

THE ORDER OF THE BLESSING OF THE WATER

The priest prays a prayer over the incense — whichever prayer from the prayers of incense he may prefer — and he lets then follow the prayer whose beginning is : "O great and glorious God who doest sit over the cherubims". And then the deacon shouts to the people that they should pray and ask of the Lord to grant His mercy to this water. Then the priest prays the other prayer whose beginning is : "O Creator of the water and maker of all". After this the priest says to the people, "Peace be with you all !" And immediately he prays that great prayer of the blessing of the water whose beginning is, "Thou art great, O Lord". The holy Proclus composed this prayer.

Then the priest signs the water by the honorable cross, and all the people draw and take from the water, singing three times "Holy art Thou".

* p. 232 * The holy fathers have transmitted to us only these (features) as they did not allow that an addition of commendatory words which

[3] Lit. actions — [4] This and other similar commentaries on the rituals were incorporated into his work, entitled the "Book of Treasures", which contained also his main commentaries. Cf. *Bibliotheca orientalis* I, p. 487.

are not fit nor required should take place, and neither shall any be read [1] from other liturgical [2] orders of the church. For all (texts) are not appropriate for all (occasions). This is not the custom [3] even of this world so that from these (facts) we may learn what is required. For nobody with a sane mind would say that the artisan clothing or weapon of a soldier or of a horseman would be fit for a ploughman nor would the tools [4] of a particular craft be fitting for all crafts. But each craft has its own tools [5]. Since the world has ordered these things in this manner how much more must divine matters be in good order. So the holy fathers did not permit that the *benat qālē* [6] and *'enyānē* [7] said by Christians at the celebration of the divine sacrifice to be said at some other occasions. Neither should any (part) of them ever be recited in such manner of disorderly and ignorant men, those who have dared to follow the bias [8] of their own preference and in consecration and the order of baptism have given freedom [9] to the deacons that they like priests speak to God crying out, "Remember, O Lord, these infants who are ready to receive the holy baptism". The reason is that all those of God and of the church are in (good) order and there is no disorder or confusion.

* [XLVIII] * p. 233

WE WRITE THE ŠŪ'ĀLĒ OF ALL KINDS WHICH JŌḤANNĀN 'ESṬŪNĀRĀ ASKED OF THE VENERABLE MĀR JA'QŌB THE TEACHER AND THEIR ANSWER.

FIRST, THE LETTER OF JA'QŌB TO JŌḤANNĀN

To the chaste and honorable brother Mār Jōḥannān who resides on a pillar in Litarb. (From) the poor Ja'qōb; rejoice in the Lord!

Truly I tell you that I was not prepared to make a reply to the writing which some time ago you, O wise brother, sent to me who am such a poor fellow. — Let the truth be said although I will be blamed for laziness and ingratitude — if not you would have sent to me again

[1] Lit. said — [2] Or: sacramental; lit. mystical — [3] Lit. use — [4] Or: clothing — [5] Or: clothing — [6] Songs — [7] Antiphons — [8] Lit. law, *νόμος* — [9] Lit. confidence, *παῤῥησία*.

your letter containing the canons, asking, indeed, to delay it and put it off — first because I was caught indeed by laziness and weariness, secondly as I was saying that there was no necessity at all about a single canon. But after I had seen a great zeal (in you) and remembered that writing, I took it again and read it and I considered those questions that were in it, and particularly the word that your fraternity wrote in it to my poorness: "I am asking you and entreating you that I may be taught, and if there is no scorn for you, you will make an answer to those things". When I saw that there was no scorn for me were I to write, but blame and condemnation if I should not write about many things the command of which I had received, I contemplated to make an answer to those questions according to
* p. 234 your request, even if I do not know more than * many but as (much as) any one, in order to escape, for you and for me, your being scandalized at me, or your considering me as a proud and scornful one, or as offending and not rewarding that which was given.

(1.) First question. Jōḥannān says. Why is the myron consecrated only on the fifth day of the mystery [1] and not on some other day? And if it is permitted that it be consecrated on other days?

Ja'qōb. About this even the great Dionysius [2], who has taught about all the daily orders, has said nothing. Nor have the other teachers of the holy church who have transmitted to us this holy liturgical [3] and holy service, taught us that it is not permitted on other days. Nor did they tell us that it would be forbidden in case anyone of the chiefs of the priests should want this matter if necessity should require the act. I know one of the bishops of our (own) days to whom it happened, who, while travelling on the road (came) to one of the towns of the barbarian pagans. He lodged with a Christian man who was there and he was a deacon. And as he was constrained to complete (the promotion) of this deacon and make him a presbyter, but since he was travelling on the road, he did not have an altar and no holy oil in order to anoint the altar and to perform the offering of the body and blood of God, and then to complete him for a priest. At one night, feeling himself obligated, he consecrated the holy oil, anointed and consecrated the altar and at once sacrificed on it the offering of the holy mysteries, and he made that deacon, the owner of the place, a priest. These did this man who was a chief of the priests. It was not that he trespassed or

[1] Maundy Thursday — [2] Dionysius Areopagita — [3] Or: sacramental; lit. mystical.

despised the laws of the church that he consecrated that mystical [4] oil on a day other than the fifth day which is called by us the mystical [5] day. So then, as I said, it is neither allowed nor hindered when sometimes it is made necessary for the chiefs of the priests to consecrate this holy oil. However, it has been ordered to be done in the week of the passion * in order to be close (to the time) of the passion of Christ. * p. 235 Even as He (Himself) has said about that woman who anointed Him that "She did this for my burial" [6]. And also, that the oil be ready for those who are to be baptized during the holy feast. This much (about this matter).

(2.) Jōḥannān. What is the difference between the oil of the holy myron and the oil which is in the horn for unction.

Ja'qōb. I am amazed at this question because of your simplicity, not to say, at your inexperience. Because you should know that all oil with which the priests anoint at the holy baptism is the same, even if it is in two containers : one is that consecrated oil which the villagers and ignorant people call myron, but the other is the one (in the horn) into which are thrown the remains of that which has been consecrated (before), because it is not allowed to any one to add to or increase the consecrated oil, or to pour from one vessel into another. And they call it the horn of unction, supposing that the one is different from the other. Therefore, when they have an abundance of the consecrated oil, they are permitted to use it for baptism. But in case of shortage they may pour in from another vessel. And (in this case) there is no blame for them, as it is known that also in this one there is some of the consecrated oil. These are means which prevent the clerics from daring to do things which are not permitted. It is just as I said before : that they should not add to it and not increase it, and not corrupt [7] (by pouring) from one vessel into the other nor bequeath from it, one to another, neither take it away from one place to another. Yet in case it becomes necessary, the container may be sent from one church to another, and they shall not corrupt it (by pouring) from one vessel into the other. All these (matters) have been fixed by the authority of the heads of the priests of those who do these matters according to their learning. However, together with this, I do inform you, O wise brother, about the following : they do not consecrate

[4] Or : sacramental; lit. mystical — [5] Maundy Thursday — [6] Mark xiv, 8 and parall. — [7] Or : to bring out.

* p. 236 the * apobalsamon [8] which comes from Egypt nor the oil boiled for perfume, but pure oil of the olive tree. After it has been consecrated we mix it, as much as it suits us, for the fragrance of smell; either with the Egyptian apobalsamon, because of its fragrant smell, or with the oil of boiled nard [9] or with other delicate oils fabricated by the skill of perfume production.

(3.) Jōḥannān. Is it right that a basin [10] or an urn [11] which was (used) for the holy baptism may be used for whatever (purpose)?

Ja'qōb. If the basin and its base have been in the lawful service for the holy abode of the baptistery it is written that they shall become the most holy things and everyone who shall approach them shall be sanctified. This is because they have been anointed by the oil which is symbolic. Once, especially, this holy spiritual baptismal laver is anointed by the holy and divine anointment of the Holy Spirit, it is not allowed for man to employe it for one of the secular uses.

(4.) Jōḥannān says. Is it right that water be placed on the altar which is anointed and consecrated in order to be blessed, or that the bones of the martyrs should be washed by it?

Ja'qōb. It is not right that something should be placed on it except the mystical sacrifice and the oil of the holy myron.

In this you are in error. This (ritual) of the water is not called consecration but the blessing of the water, although insolent and ignorant men dare to regard it as the mystical service of the body and blood, for which they employ the *benat qālē*. I, however, also like those who have transmitted to me the mysteries of the church, instruct (you) to bless the water of the Epiphany at the brim of a well or on a stone, also on some ordinary board, and not on a consecrated altar so as the insolent men teach.

* p. 237 * (5.) Jōḥannān says. Is it proper that on the day of the *'arūbtā* of the passion (week) the altars shall be undressed?

Ja'qōb. It is not necessary, except if the garments should be washed in order that they become a decoration for the feast of resurrection.

(6.) Jōḥannān. Is it necessary for a priest to investigate the names of those who are being baptized?

Ja'qōb. It is not necessary except if there are many who are being baptized so that their names may not be mixed up and the order disturbed; they are written by the hand of the deacons.

[8] ὀποβάλσαμον — [9] νάρδος — [10] λεκάνη — [11] γοῦρνα.

(7.) Jōḥannān. Is it allowed a presbyter that after he separates the bread to be consecrated, he carries it up on the altar to add to it or to take off from it?

Ja'qōb. He is entitled to add to it until the anaphora is uncovered. Afterwards he is not entitled, after it is placed in the holy vessel and he ascends to the altar.

(8.) Jōḥannān. Is it proper for a priest who enters with the bread to be consecrated to put it into the cup for want of place?

Ja'qōb. It will be fitting to put (it) at the great beginning.

(9.) Jōḥannān. Is it necessary that the doors of the church be closed on the day the sacrifice is offered?

Ja'qōb. This is necessary and especially so that the perverts to Islam would not enter and mingle with the believers and disturb them and laugh at the holy mysteries.

(10.) Jōḥannān. Since the Spirit rested upon the apostles in the third hour [12], why do we perform the Feast of Genuflexion in the time of the ninth hour?

Ja'qōb. Because all cannot be performed in the third hour, I mean the sacrifice, the service of the Genuflexion and the word of instruction on this. Therefore, in the third hour the congregation goes to the sacrifice when we perform all the holy mysteris and (then) it will be dismissed. Afterwards the congregation returns to the church and hears the reading of the (sacred) * books and learns a suitable word about this, why we * p. 238 do not bless during these fifty days and we bless at this time, etc.

(11.) Jōḥannān. Is the fast after Pentecost necessary? Whence did it start?

Ja'qōb. It is not necessary, otherwise it would be a blame for everyone who does not keep this fast. However, it is voluntary. But as to how it started, it is not exactly known. But probably one could say that since Christ has said to the apostles, "The sons of the bridechamber cannot fast as long the bridegroom is with them, but days shall come when the bridegroom will be taken from them, and then they shall fast" [13], and because Christ the bridegroom ascended [14] from them and the Spirit — the Paraclete — came [15], perhaps the apostles began to keep this fast and little by little it was adopted as a custom,

[12] Acts II, 15. About the Feast of Genuflexion, see BAUMSTARK, *Festbrevier und Kirchenjahr*, p. 255. Historically, the feast reflects the ancient liturgical tradition of the church of Jerusalem witnessed by Aetheria about 393/4 A.D.; cf. *Peregrinatio ad loca sancta*, p. 94 f. — [13] Luke v, 34-35 — [14] Acts I, 4 ff. — [15] Acts II, 2 ff.

although not in writing. Yet I know ascestic men and women in truth in the land of the Orient who do so all the year : they fast seven weeks and seven weeks they eat and drink until they arrive at the great fast.

(12.) Jōḥannān. Is it necessary to perform the feast of the Presentation of our Lord in the temple at the completion of the forty days of His bodily birth or not?

Ja'qōb. Not all these that are performed in the church are necessary, but they are useful. This feast is not performed in all the towns and the people do not know it. However, those who celebrate do well and it is becoming for the true Christians and to those who love the mysteries and celebrate the feast of Christ. Those, however, who do not know it and are not accustomed to celebrate it, do not stand under blame. For many do not know to perform even the order of the Genuflexion concerning the coming of the Holy Spirit.

* p. 239 * (13.) Jōḥannān. Is it necessary and canonical that the dead shall be washed before they are buried as it is the custom for men today to do?

Ja'qōb. It is not canonical and no one of the orthodox fathers has transmitted something about this. And, also, neither has the great Dionysius who has given instruction on the burial of the dead has commanded something regarding this. But this was adopted from some custom. There have been sick persons and stricken by abcesses and in their departure their bodies have given off a smell. The body was washed in order that its bad smell would not trouble those who bury them. Sometimes the people have (even) rubbed perfume on their bodies. From this, I think, this custom has taken hold everywhere.

(14.) Jōḥannān. Why do not the funeral services of the dead take place in the churches as Dionysius says, but many times in caverns or streets?

Ja'qōb. Because at that time Christians were few and it was possible to do so or perchance the churches were in their homes because this was the beginning of the Gospel — or the teacher calls the congregation of the people "churches". Today Christians have multiplied in many places and this is not necessary so that they are constrained to carry them into the church. But on the second and third day their household members are accustomed to come to the church and they shall make sacrifices and shall honor the priests who have buried them.

(15.) Jōḥannān. To which of the dead are the offerings of any help and to which not?

Ja'qōb. This is said in the Canons of the Apostles. It is right that these shall be for the pious and God-fearing who had died in the right fear of God, although they had some faults and sins. For the evil and despised heretics, those who are with the unbelievers or those considered as orthodox but are not, or who are numbered among the Christians but are unbelievers * and pagans, I mean like the sorcerers and doers * p. 240 of evil or murderers or the impure and polluted who ended their lives in shameful conduct and did not repent, those who are prepared to hear from the just Judge: "Go you accursed into the everlasting fire!" [16] — for these the offerings and prayers in their behalf are of no help. Even if Noah and Daniel and Job and Moses and Samuel and all the prophets and the apostles and the righteous and the martyrs and the fathers and chiefs of the priests would beseech for them, they cannot help them because the decree without mercy against them has already gone out by the just Judge, since the time of their departure from here below, even if it is unknown to us. With this opinion many of the superintendents and teachers of the church agree. Theophilus, the bishop of Alexandria saw this, that in the time of the departure of the souls of many believers many angels come to them and also many troops of evil demons. While they, indeed, repeat lovely things and are asking (favors) from the Lord, the others, however, repeat hateful things and expect the sentence of the Lord. But the souls who were either pure or had sinned and had faults about which they offered penitence either secretly or openly, or departed grieving about that and asked and implored also others to pray for them — about these the decree goes out that they may be with the heavenly companies and be among them and may walk wherever the Lord is honored. To these the offerings and prayer in their behalf help much. In like manner when somebody here has a feast day or birthday or is happy or rejoices among his companions, so also the souls in whose behalf offerings are given are happy and celebrate and rejoice among their companions. But the souls of the wicked ones who offer no repentance — a bitter sentence went forth from the Lord against them that they be delivered over unto the demons and that they are with them till the day of resurrection. And they do not let them approach any (place) where is any remembrance of God. * To these there * p. 241 is no benefit, even if all the things of this world are given in their

[16] Matth. xxv, 41.

behalf. And regarding them it has been decreed that there shall be no offerings and no prayers in their behalf.

(16.) Jōḥannān. What do you say concerning those clerics who sell the bread which is brought into the church?

Ja'qōb. Because many ask for communion in all towns there is the custom and there is no blame for them if they sell it at the gate of the church, not furtively, and the same (things) return to be offered for the same altar or for another altar. But if they sell it furtively or not as for priestly sacrifice — if one dares and does this, he shall be guilty of the canons.

(17.) Jōḥannān. What do you say regarding the observance of the day of *'arūbtā*?

Ja'qōb. The apostolic teaching has not handed this down to us, but we have received it from the canons of the presbyters. For only the apostles have handed down to us concerning the *'arūbtā* and the fourth day of the week, that the service and the morning prayers shall be performed on them and the reading of the sacred books before the people and the fast until the evening. However, the clerics have concocted the observance (by ceasing) from work and labor of hands. (This is) the observance of these which have been commanded, even if these which have been commanded are not more than the observance from the work of hands.

(18.) Jōḥannān. (Concerning) a presbyter who swears that he does not serve and does not offer and then transgresses his oath whether by himself or being persuaded by others or who has given himself the absolution.

Ja'qōb. It is right that this one should receive punishment from the bishop, not only because he trespassed his oath but even for the reason that he swore. For (even) according to the Thora service, when some-
* p. 242 body sinned * the priest used to sacrifice an ox for his sin; not the one who sinned did the sacrificing, but the other one who was anointed. However, I allow myself to say that a presbyter who swore, could not serve in the time of the holy Basilius, and was not permitted by him to transgress the oath, except through another wise means by which he took consolation. Since (the matter) shall not be tackled by the custom which once was, it will be decreed according to the law of the church.

(19.) Jōḥannān. Those who established a vow to the Lord and retracted it, what shall be to them?

Jaqōb. Those who established a vow before God and made (the sign of) the crosses and afterwards have passed their vows — until the time of Gehenna arrives they shall go to Babel with blinded eyes just like Zedekia[17], the king of the Jews, and they should be yoked to a millstone and there do the grinding.

(20.) Jōḥannān. A servant of the pagans was loving the Christians but he was not allowed by his masters to be baptized when he was afflicted in illness, and he thought that death was approaching, he lifted up a leather bottle with water and looked into heaven praying, and confessed as a Christian, and poured it over himself in the name of the Trinity. If he dies, is he equal with the baptized or if he rises from his sickness and wants to be baptized — in what manner shall he be received by the church?

Ja'qōb. First of all, this is what in grace was done — he is received by God. This indicates, as I suppose, how to act and to snatch prophetically the baptism of redemption and how to understand Him who makes one worthy of His habitation, He who shows pity and is the judge and gives retribution to everyone so as he deserves. Further, secondly, if it shall be completed, in what manner shall a priest act? As I have received from the fathers, superintendents of the church, the priest shall baptize him saying: "I baptize you, N.N., if you are not baptized in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit".

* (21) Jōḥannān. A certain servant, a heretic, suffered and endured * p. 243 the afflictions for the sake of Christ and died and did not desert the faith. How is he to be ranked and what benefit does he have?

Ja'qōb. This you can learn from our Lord when people were approaching Him and demanded healing. Thus He was saying[18]: "Let it be according to your faith". And it is known that everyone receives then retribution according to his love and his faith.

(22.) Jōḥannān. People, indeed, say that Gīwargīs the martyr was of the doctrine of the Arians and that therefore none of the teachers has said anything about him nor extolled him.

Ja'qōb. The doctrine of Arius appeared after the persecution of the Christians had ceased, and, indeed, nobody did bear witness to him except a few in the days of Julian the Apostate and this only without open eagerness. And Gīwargīs was not one of them. It is therefore known that he was not of the doctrine of Arius. However, the rea-

[17] Jer. xxxix, 7 — [18] Cf. Mark v, 34 and parall.

son that often many testified against him is, as I judge, that in those times many were called by this name Gīwargīs. And on this account the teachers avoided to talk about him so that one person would not be taken for another; for there would (then) be an occasion for the transformation of (these) matters and untruth would invade in the manner of doctrine. But again because vain importunity and untruth compound the history as transmitted in writing which also is full of false gossips and lying stories — these do not fit in at all with the witness for Christ, whether in speaking or acting like that or in suffering. Neither does it agree with Christ who crowns the martyrs, to forsake the witnesses who fight for Him in this manner or who act or suffer.

* p. 244 (23.) Jōḥannān. When an entire village of the heretics * turns to the faith of truth what is right to do with their mysteries?

Ja'qōb. They should be returned to the adherents of their faith. This has also happened to me. Sometime some people from the Mohammedans took the oblation which they brought from the land of the Greeks and to avoid (the trouble) of their conscience they brought it to me. I sent it back to the adherents of the doctrine of those Greeks.

(24.) Jōḥannān. Shall we receive a heretic who has been excommunicated by his superior because of his transgression, and who wants to be with us?

Ja'qōb. He shall be freed from the blame. However if he loves our faith, and they do not absolve him we shall put on him a correction for his transgression. But if he does not agree, he shall not be received.

(25.) Jōḥannān. The orthodox, those in glowing zeal, took a temple from the heretics. And since there was no bishop near they performed service in it and the offering. What do you say concerning this? Likewise what do you say concerning men who seized the temple from the heretics, and restored it, and served in it and did not wait for their bishop (until) he would come?

Ja'qōb. Their zeal is an excuse for them. God who sees their zeal and their faith is He who gives absolution to them, and who frees them from blame and who cleanses the temple, which they took from heretics. And the bishop shall extol them and shall not find fault. (However,) it is not right that they who seized their temple from the heretics and restored and completed it, should celebrate the mystical service in it without the prayer of the chief of the priests. But if in zeal or without knowledge they have served, the living sacrifice which they offered is for absolution for them as well as for the altar.

(26.) Jōḥannān. An orthodox man has been excommunicated by a heretical bishop. What shall he do?

* Ja'qōb. It is not right to observe the excommunication because * p. 245
they do not have the true faith and their excommunication via the canon is also not true; thus when somebody leaves the heresy and comes to the church of the believers and on this account is excommunicated by the heretics, it is not right to observe their canon. If, indeed, one leaves and deserts their heresies, he shall leave and neglect also the canon which they put on him presumptuously without fear and alarm.

(27.) Jōḥannān. The sacred vessels of the service of the altar of gold or of silver or of another material whatever it may be — is it right that they may be (employed) for another use? Yes or no?

Ja'qōb. It is not right that they shall be (employed) for another secular use whatever it may be, absolutely not. And also not that these of silver and gold should be coined into *zūzē* [19] and dinars for the purpose, indeed, to give support thereby to the needy and thereby to redeem the captives. However, if it becomes urgent, they shall be sold to other churches so that godliness will flourish exceedingly and will become perfect so that the laws are not despised.

[XLIX]

AGAIN THE *ŠŪ'ĀLĒ* BY THE SAME JŌḤANNĀN TO THE SAME JA'QŌB AND THEIR ANSWER.

(1.) Jōḥannān. The sacred body which through negligence has grown moldy and spoiled and cannot be eaten, so that the conscience cannot accept it: what is right to do with it? I want to learn that, and how shall that one through whose negligence this has happened suffer?

* Ja'qōb. The sacred body, indeed, that has grown moldy and has * p. 246
become spoiled so that nobody can accept it — it is right that the presbyter or deacon ought to soak a part of it in the cup of the sacrifice in some wine mixed with water. And afterwards he shall dip it and keep it in the wine with his fingers and so continue mixing it so that he

[19] A coin equal to quarter shekel of Jewish money or to a Greek drachma.

shall supersaturate and overcome the penetration and bitterness of the moldiness. And thus he may give from it to all the clerics alone. And after this, he may serve and arrange it with the cup as is the ecclesiastical custom. And thus he may continue to do in the following days until that amount which had become moldy is consumed. The censure, however, which is deserved by the priest who neglected, shall be as the bishop sees it (proper).

(2.) Jōḥannān. Again, I want to learn whether (the eucharistic bread) becomes ineffective when it is thrown into water, just as in the case of Judas the traitor?

Ja'qōb. There is error and ignorance also in this your question. For the (sacramental) body of the Lord did not become dissolved through water, as the supposition, when it was dipped, nor did the Lord ever give to Judas the dipped Body at all, nor did He deprive him of any blessing, but He gave all completely to him just as to the apostles, His companions. And then when they were reclining at the table He gave to him bread which was dipped in water [1]. Because the whole table had bread which had become dry from its kneading and was not soft. And always when they were sitting down they used to dip some of the bread and eat it. This was a hidden and significant sign to John and his companions so that John whispered to Christ while leaning on His breast and asking Him to reveal to them who was the one who would betray Him [2]. So also He turned and whispered to him: he whom you see that I dip bread into water while I am sitting and I give it to him, it is he who betrays me [3]. So then it is not he who reached out (for it). So it was Judas for whom the bread as the sacred body of the Lord was dipped, as I indicated. And also the
* p. 247 sacred body * cannot be dissolved and become ordinary bread when it is dipped into water. For water cannot drive out or dissolve the descent of the secret power of the Holy Spirit [4] and the union of the person of the Word of God with the dominical and mysterious and sacred bread.

(3.) Jōḥannān. The pearl of the sacred body which through a layman or through a woman is sent to a sick person — how is it right for him to take that which is sent to him?

Ja'qōb. Lo, already was this said to me also in another place [5] and

[1] Mark xiv, 18 ff. — [2] John xiii, 25 — [3] John xiii, 26 — [4] Through the epiclesis — [5] See page 239.

(sent) to another person — that not so that one carries the pearl in his mouth and not in his hand as it has already been for many the custom to do : he diminishes the superabundant honor which belongs to the eucharist through this. And not so that one carries the pearl in his hand and puts it into his mouth — he causes desecration through this to it, and also he who brings it. However, if it is urgent and he carries it in the hand and puts it into the mouth of the sick person, by this he does not appear to do these (functions) of the priesthood. But you ask, therefore, how is the pearl brought (to the sick). People have the custom that they would bring it in a clean piece of linen. And again the people are used to bringing it in writing material and afterwards they would throw it into fire, and in a cabbage leaf and they would eat it. And again also in a braided basket or in soft and fresh bread of finest wheaten flour which they afterwards would eat.

(4.) Jōḥannān. Is it right for the stylites to place the sacred body near them on the column because it is written that it is not right that they should offer the sacrifice ? Is he guilty on account of this ?

Ja'qōb. When there are people close to them who receive the mysteries from the stylite and reach them to him whenever he wants, it is not urgent that it shall be placed near him. Not because * dishonor * p. 248 will take place by it when they are placed near him but because of the superabundant honor (of the mysteries). If there is no person who is near and would reach them to him whenever he asks and therefore it becomes urgent to place them near him, there is no dishonor for them through this and also no guilt for him, for a man is not unclean because He (Himself), clothed with body, suffered in the (qualities) of the body — that is to say, also he who partakes Him in the sacred body is made worthy because of the love of mankind by God.

(5.) Jōḥannān. Is it lawful for the stylites to give proclamation or admonition to the people or administer judgments and decree the laws employing the Word of God ?

Ja'qōb. Whether it is lawful for them, you said, and not whether it is right for them — on this account I also, according to your (own) word, give the answer, even if it would be that it were lawful for them. For it is lawful for them whenever they wish to cast lots, and if they want, so to say, also to do injustice, but it is not useful to them as it says apostolically; and if it is not useful for them, it is not right for them. In order that they shall live pleasing God through their labors and in silence and in quietness and with sincere prayer without distrac-

tion, they have ascended the pillar and not in order to become judges of the people and to administer the laws. But if they want to be teachers and admonishers to the people this should be only through silent exhortation, that through good deed and example they can become teachers to the people and not by talk and noise. Because the deed has much more excellence towards admonition and is more powerful towards persuasion. However, to say something (more) about this, they have not been called nor appointed for this neither by God nor by the chiefs of the priests. And not being sent nor appointed for this it will not be
* p. 249 useful for them. But if they adjudged it useful * for them to become teachers of the people, they should do this — first let them come down upon the earth and teach just as Christ did and came down from heaven to the people and then taught what He scornfully says. And regarding that which I added that they administer judgments and decree laws of the world to the people while employing God's Word, this is a great arrogance. For this power of the Word of God was not given to the priests in order that they employ it in the affairs of the world, but only concerning those who commit sin and those who repent and not concerning dividing (goods) nor regarding quarrels and strifes and judgment; and not because of the inheritance, not because of the division of properties, not regarding buying and selling and commerce, not concerning the loss of material things and also not concerning a single matter of these which are of (ordinary) human life. And on this account, indeed, those priests who employ this authority on all human and worldly affairs are also blameworthy and also guilty. So then it is not right that they appropriate to themselves administrations such as these nor that they employ them in connection with the Word of God at all.

(6.) Jōḥannān. Is it right that a priest gives from the blessings of the saints to the Arabs and pagans who are tempted by the evil spirits in order to calm them and heal them or as *ḥenānā* [6] in the same manner?

Ja'qōb. It is right by all means, it is right very much, that no one shall be hindered from something in matters like these, therefore, it shall be given them. Regarding every sickness, whatever it may be, I allow to say, "This is what God has given to you for recovery", when

[6] Etymologically : pity, mercy, compassion; liturgically : a compound of oil, dust and water, mixed with the relics of saints or with earth taken from holy places.

he shall give to them from the blessings. It is an obvious demonstration — it is right for you to give to them without hindrance.

(7.) Jōḥannān. Is it proper for a priest when he sees in his dream that he does obscenity or some defilement, that he offers the oblation on the same day?

Ja'qōb. This is told also in the Diataxis * of our Lord to His apostles and also in the ecclesiastical canons that it is not right that he shall offer on the same day except because of an urgency that demands it, and if it is not possible that he does not offer — not as one who is defiled but because of the honor of the divine sacrifice. * p. 250

(8.) Jōḥannān. Is it right to consecrate a priest who has on him some bodily defect?

Ja'qōb. This is told manifestly in the canons and there is no need for my answer.

(9.) Jōḥannān. Is it right for the priest to hinder from the fellowship of the mysteries any person who is a fornicator or adulterer before he makes repentance?

Ja'qōb. It is right for a priest who has been set into the superintendency over the Christians to hinder from the fellowship of the holy mysteries and from the church every Christian who is under his authority, who has been reproved and exposed that he does something of these (things) until his repentance is completed and his sin is blotted out through his hand through the separation and humiliation as something is determined in the canon of the church. But when it is supposed and thought that he did these things, and that he actually did them, but there is nobody to show him to be wrong, and he does not accuse himself — although there be an opinion about him and many may tell about it — let then the love towards man win towards him and he shall not be hindered from the fellowship of the divine mysteries and also not from the church. For it is right that we leave it to God to be the judge about those things which are unknown, whether they are true or not.

(10.) Jōḥannān. Is it right for a deacon, when he signs the cup, to say some prayer or to stand behind the sacred table and wave or to hang up the curtain of the altar in front of the presbyter when the sacred table is uncovered, when the priest begins to offer?

Ja'qōb. When the deacon signs the cup he is not allowed to say any prayer nor to say anything at all, long or short. * It also is not lawful for him to wave when he is standing to the East of the table. However, if it should happen that this is desired, it should not be hindered * p. 251

and there is no harm because in many churches and especially in the churches of the Alexandrians, there is behind the sacred table the place of the archdeacon where he stands and waves; and also for this that he may spread the curtain before the priest because there is there no other deacon. This is out of necessity and there is no blame when he does it and stands over against the priest to the East of the sacred table and shouts towards the people his announcement at the time he is looking at the people. For it was right (for him) to make all the other announcements while looking at the people and saying to them: "Let us pray to God".

(11.) Jōḥannān. Is it right for a deacon who is present in a village of the Christians to make a service on the day of a festival or on a Sunday when a priest is not near, and to pray and set the incense? And whether it is right for him to read the Gospel before the people?

Ja'qōb. It is right to make a service for the people wherever a deacon is present and every day whatever it may be because there is no presbyter there. But not to pray and burn incense when he inclines; and his voice should be audible to no one except only "Amen" which is at the completion of his prayer. And when he desires to read the Gospel he does well and it is right for him. And this not only when the presbyter is not present but also when he is present and near — but (then, of course) if the presbyter shall allow him and ask him.

(12.) Jōḥannān. Is it proper for a man after he communicates in the sacred mysteries to go to a bath house and bathe and wash his head?

Ja'qōb. These things are not hindered and not determined by the canons. Indeed, a sin is not committed when these things are being done. However, it is * an offense to many of the believers because these (practices) are observed as custom — (although) on this account it is not right to be hindered. So then, it is not right that one should bathe after the reception of the mysteries. Not because this does dishonor to the sacred mysteries nor that one who does this brings a sin on him, but because of the offense and because of the honor of the mysteries.

* p. 252

(13.) Jōḥannān. Is it proper for a person to drink water and to take the eucharist when he does this out of his will, as it is the habit for many to do so and particularly in the summer time?

Ja'qōb. As much as it is possible it is not right for a person to take something of food or drink, one or the other, except because of an urgent

case of illness or some danger. If now this is done in urgent cases and on compulsion he drinks, he shall be grieved in his soul about this and shall ask to receive the eucharist. He does not take it without permission but when, because of his supplication, the priest grants it to him. For the priest has the authority, as he sees the urgent cause because of which he drank, to make a dispensation for him and grant to take, and on this day he shall not be deprived from the communion of the divine mysteries. However, indeed, it is right that since permission was made to him, he shall not do this continually.

(14.) Jōḥannān. Is it right for the monks to go to the vigils or to the memorial celebrations of the saints or to banquets, or to watch there and sing? And is it right for them to accept baptisms as has been the custom of many?

Ja'qōb. It is not right that monks should do any of these things, even if it should happen that clerics are not found to perform the vigil at such festivals. It is not right for the monks to enter there neither is it right to receive baptisms even if it should happen that sponsors * and God-parents for him who is to be baptized could not be found. * p. 253 It is not only not right but they are even under the censure if they do anything like such.

(15.) Jōḥannān. When a person becomes Mohammedan or turns pagan and after some time returns and repents and comes back from his paganism, is it then right that he be baptized or not? I want to learn: is he deprived of the grace of baptism because he had become a Mohammedan?

Ja'qōb. Indeed, it is not right to baptize a Christian who became a Mohammedan or a pagan because one time he was born again from water and the Spirit according to the word of our Lord. It is right, however, that there shall be a prayer for him by the chief of the priests. And a certain time of repentance, as long as it right, shall be determined for him. And after a period of repentance also the communion of the mysteries shall be permitted to him. We find the proof for this from those who have been baptized by water, but the Holy Spirit had not accepted them, and who only afterwards were considered worthy of this only through the prayer and laying on of hands of the chief of the priests. However, regarding this whether he is deprived of the grace of baptism because he has become a Mohammedan, or not? This is what I want to say: concerning those things of which God is the giver it is not ours to say whether they have been accepted

or, indeed, deprived from those who receive them or not. This is God's only, and He expects their returning and their repentance because He wants not the death of the sinner but that he return back and be saved. In this place, indeed, in this world, and in the present life He does not take from him His mercy. But there, in the last day of resurrection, He will deprive him of mercy and He will take away from him the talent just as from that evil servant and throw him into he eternal fire [7].

(16.) Jōḥannān. Has a man any condemnation when he finds bones of martyrs or of other saints in a ruined temple or in a monastery where there are no people, and then he steals them secretly in order to bring them to a place where they will receive honor?

Ja'qōb. This that you said in your expression, "steals them secretly", is sufficient to prove the blame since somebody feels constrained
* p. 254 to bring them out secretly and furtively * since he has fear before the people who have authority over the place. So then it is not right to go near there and he also is not without condemnation to have lifted up what is not his. He is doing a thing which he would not want to be done to him by others.

(17.) Jōḥannān. Is it right for a Christian to eat from the flesh that was killed by a heathen when it was not killed for the sake of the sacrifice?

Ja'qōb. If, indeed, he goes away on a journey and shall enter a country or a town where there live (only) heathens and he wants to buy something from the market and shall buy meat killed by the heathens, there is no censure for him through this because the apostle commands: Everything you buy in the slaughter house, eat; there is no censure nor scruple [8]. But if you live in a town where there are many Christians who kill the meat, and you shall leave the meat which Christians sell and shall go and buy that of the heathens, indeed, for two reasons it is deserving to be under condemnation. If his stay is in the house of the heathens, that is to say, he lives with them, he is compelled to eat with them also of the meat which they eat, except for necessary cause. First he is guilty because he lives with them, and, then, also because he eats from the meat they kill. But if he has a necessary cause to live with them and eat with them, he has no condemnation at all by this.

[7] Matth. xxv, 28-30 — [8] Cf. I Cor. VIII, 4 ff.

Here end the *šū'ālē* which Jōḥannān 'Eṣṭūnārā asked the venerable Mār Ja'qōb, and his precept of their answers.

* [L] * p. 255

AGAIN THE *ŠŪ'ĀLĒ* WHICH ABRAHAM THE RECLUSE ASKED JA'QŌB AND THEIR ANSWER

(1.) Abraham asks. Is it right that we add to the cup when not yet all the people have taken of it and when the wine is the same and the water the same?

Ja'qōb. When there are many people we may add to it, and when there is wine and water that have been mixed together we may pour. But if there is none, he may pour only wine into the wine and water separate — there is no blame. Only (let him do it) orderly and carefully, straining the water (to avoid) hair or any other matter.

(2.) Abraham. Is it fitting for the presbyter to offer in many places on one day when there is a necessity?

Ja'qōb. It is not forbidden to offer; and if he wishes to commune himself at every place where he offers, he has no condemnation if he does not take any ordinary food or drink after the fellowship of the mysteries. And concerning the service of the cup likewise. If, indeed, it is easier for him, he may give it to another person. But if this is not practicable for any reason whatsoever, then he takes it, puts it in order and wipes it as the custom is. This is what startles the ignorant people. But it is right to know that because of the service of the cup, it is not an ordinary drink which he offers for drinking and he shall not be hindered from offering on this account. And therefore when he pours wine into it and the water: they are the blood of God and not some ordinary drink. For whatever falls into the cup becomes sacred and the blood of God by him who sanctifies it. And he who takes it takes the blood of God. And the water which is later poured into the cup * is not such as if by it the sanctity is dissolved and annulled, as * p. 256 ignorant people think, but it is (only) that the darkness of the wine be washed and cleared from the cup so that the cup may not contact rust and be spoiled. So then there is no blame for the priest if he feels the need to offer again after he has served the cup. Only he shall not do this what he does with intention of greediness but all according to the right time and according to the power of the Word.

(3.) Abraham. Did Enoch and Elijah ascend into heaven or not?

Ja'qōb. They did not ascend into heaven, because also the Scripture does not say that they ascended. But Enoch was pleasing the Lord and disappeared [1], and Elijah was taken up in a chariot as into heaven [2]. And the Lord said: "Nobody has ascended into heaven but He who came down from heaven" [3]. But regarding this whether they are alive or dead or whether both of them are together or each one alone, this the sacred books have not transmitted to us at all, and we cannot say it truly and firmly. However, this you should know: if they are still living and have not died, they would be on the earth. And all those who are here have a body which hungers and thirsts and is fed and sleeps and suffers. But if they have not died, they must die before the general resurrection of everyone. These things I have said, because I am not forgetful of those words which were said by some of the teachers of the church in regard to them as they follow the literal and dry word of the Scripture about them.

[LI]

AGAIN THE ŠŪ'ĀLĒ WHICH TŪMĀ THE RECLUSE ASKED JA'QŌB OF 'ŪRHĀI

(1.) Tūmā says. Is it proper that the urns in which presbyters have been buried may be put in churches?

* p. 257 * Ja'qōb. They committed no sin and there is no transgression in these (matters). For at the time when there was no freedom to build churches many offered the oblation at the graves of the Christian people. But I say that if the grave had already before been set up in the church for the venerable priests, (then) they may be buried there. However, if they newly make graves in the churches and spoil the churches and cause a smell to be in them and perchance it happens even after a time that believers err and think that martyrs are buried there, I do not allow that a grave should be in the church. They, however, should be admonished and told that there is no profit for them burying the dead in the churches, but they benefit only from their upright conduct.

[1] Gen. v, 24; cf. Hebrews xi, 5 — [2] II Kings ii, 1-11 — [3] John iii, 13.

(2.) Tūmā. Is it right that a bride chamber should be linked together with something taken from the church, in some way or other?

Ja'qōb. If he (i.e., the bridegroom) wants his house to be blessed, there may be given to him an ordinary carpet [1] of the outer door as a blessing. But if he wants any ornament, it shall not be given to him at all because what was given to the Lord shall never be for a human affair. Now if the garments of the priests and levites were never shown outside the tabernacle [2] to sanctify the people through sight of them nor to hurt them, how much more is it right that the venerable vessels of the temple of Christ our God should be honored.

(3.) Tūmā. Is it right for a Christian to drink from wine which the Jews have pressed?

Ja'qōb. If, indeed, he travels on a journey and he finds nothing in order to buy bread and wine, and of this sort, except from the Jews, and this necessary matter is pressing, there is no blame. If, however, in this place there are found Christians and he dares to buy something to eat or drink as something on which the defiled hands of the Jews have laid hold, this one shall be rejected from the church of God and from the intercourse of the believers as defiled * and contemptible and * p. 258 abominable, and shall be numbered among the Jews — until they become cleansed through repentance. For it is not right even to ask the Jews for wine presses, also not anything else in order that one may not be defiled by them who are wrongdoers. And if, indeed, a priest shall dare and purge the wine which the Jews have pressed in the name (of God), also he shall be guilty.

[LII]

THE QUESTIONS, WHICH THE PRESBYTER ADDAÏ ASKED OF JA'QŌB THE BISHOP, AND THEIR ANSWER

(1.) Addaï. Is it right for one, who after he has participated in the holy mysteries and has served the cup, to participate in the mysteries or to serve the paten or the cup or to participate in the holy mysteries anew if there comes up a reason or necessity?

[1] Or: curtain — [2] Cf. Lev. III.

Ja'qōb. It is not right that those who serve the cup of the eucharist shall be reckoned as equal to one who drinks something bodily and ordinary; so, regard them as follows: if they want to participate in the holy mysteries on the same day again they cannot. For it is not something bodily and ordinary which they eat and drink although they have poured water into the holy cup for washing and have drunk it. For it has also become mixed with the blood of God when it was poured into the holy cup even though all that had fallen into it was wiped off whith a sponge. For there are many priests who undertake to offer it on one day, even in many villages, and in all the places they are bound to honor and serve the cup and offer and give communion to those who want (it).

(2.) Addaï. What is proper to happen to that which is offered by one who is not a presbyter?

Ja'qōb. The priests eat (it) as ordinary bread.

* p. 259 * (3.) Addaï. Those whom they have baptized — what shall happen to them?

Ja'qōb. It is lawful that they shall be baptized anew by the priests, if possible.

(4.) Addaï. What must be done with a presbyter who took the altar and its vessels from the Chalcedonians and returned and gave them back?

Ja'qōb. If he gave these to them voluntarily, it is right that his deposition shall take place.

(5.) Addaï. Is it proper to keep a canon of the heretics?

Ja'qōb. It is not proper, even if it decrees rightly and correctly.

(6.) Addaï. When a *sā'ūrā* or an abbot offers a sacrifice, shall another give (it) to them or shall they take it?

Ja'qōb. Another shall give him and he shall not take it like a bishop.

(7). Addaï. Is it right for a deacon to proclaim when he is depressed?

Ja'qōb. It is not necessary — when there is an urgent cause by necessity — to proclaim, also for a priest — because of the necessity of death — to baptize when he is depressed.

(8.) Addaï. If there is a presbyter who was first not a deacon, is he entitled to offer the sacrifice without a deacon or not?

Ja'qōb. Unless one has become a deacon, he has not become a presbyter. If the bishop has erred and has not made him a deacon first, it is not lawful for him to offer without a deacon who proclaims after him.

(9.) Addaï. Can the sacrifice be offered without a consecrated tablet[1] and without an altar?

Ja'qōb. When a presbyter and the deacon go on a (journey) in a desert land and they have with them a cup and a paten, the deacon holds the cup and the paten (and) becomes a substitute for an altar — holding the paten in his right hand and the cup in his left hand; in this way the priest offers out of necessity.

(10.) Addaï. When a presbyter is alone, how can he anoint the one prepared for baptism?

* Ja'qōb. He shall hold him who receives it in his hands or (those of) his mother or he shall place him if possible on the edge of the baptismal basin and so shall anoint him. There is no blame, not in one of these (ways). * p. 260

(11.) Addaï. How is it right for a priest to offer — before baptism or shall he baptize first?

Ja'qōb. So as it is made plain to him : if the loaf is brought before the baptism, he shall offer and when the baptism is prepared first he shall baptize — what is prepared first shall take place. There is no harm (involved).

(12.) Addaï. When insects have fallen into the oil or honey is it lawful for a priest to sanctify it?

Ja'qōb. It is lawful for a priest to sanctify everything, except what is corrupted by the insects fallen into it. The conscience does not accept that someone would eat from it.

(13.) Addaï. Does the priest serve and give the offering to him who offers — standing on the north side or south side?

Ja'qōb. As the matter stands, it is plein, it takes place from the south side.

(14.) Addaï. Is it right that two loaves[2] shall be brought together to the altar?

Ja'qōb. Corresponding (to the number of) the people who bring so shall they receive — according to the need.

(15.) Addaï. When a presbyter errs in baptizing and not anointing the one whom he baptizes — is it lawful that he shall be anointed after the baptism or not?

Ja'qōb. It is not right because the athlete is anointed before he struggles as one who will elude the hand of his adversary. For imme-

[1] ܟܕܘܠܐ, *tabula* — [2] κολλύρα.

diately after he overcomes (his adversary) and arises, there is no need that he be anointed.

(16.) Addaï. Is it right for the priest to take a fan [3] and to proclaim after the presbyter, his colleague?

Ja'qōb. It is lawful for him to take the fan and to proclaim, if it is necessary.

* p. 261 * (17.) Addaï. Shall the presbyter make the cross on the loaf by two fingers or by one?

Ja'qōb. I do with one.

(18.) Addaï. Shall the "Hosanna in the highest" in the offering be said two times or three times?

Ja'qōb. As is the custom of the place — no harm, either it shall be said twice or thrice. The Greeks say twice.

(19.) Addaï. When the priest speaks, "He gave thanks, blessed" etc., is it proper for the people to say, Amen?

Ja'qōb. It is not proper.

(20.) Addaï. Is there some harm in placing a paten before the cup on the altar?

Ja'qōb. If the priest is alone there is no harm, for it is the spirit (that matters). The priest who offers takes and arranges patens on the altar and the cups towards the east of them; and when the setting apart comes and (the time) for the drink-offering, he puts and pours (the necessary) into the cups.

(21.) Addaï. Is a priest entitled to pardon one who is a Moslem or a pagan if he is afflicted by dying?

Ja'qōb. If he is afflicted by dying and there is no bishop near, he is entitled to pardon him and he shall give him the offering and shall bury him if he dies. But if he remains alive, he shall bring him to the bishop and he shall impose upon him a regulation according to his knowledge in accordance with what he is able to bear.

(22.) Addaï. Is the presbyter entitled to allow a laymen to enter the sanctuary to fix the wood or the chest at the wall inside the altar?

[3] The ܡܪܘܚܬܐ, *marwāḥtā* is *ῥιπίδιον* in Greek and *flabellum* in Latin; from Syriac the term was taken over into Arabic as مروحة; cf. BAR BAHLŪL, *Lexicon syriacum* II, col. 1885; cf. also, GRAF, *Verzeichnis arab. Termini*, p. 54 which must be supplemented with the Syriac term. About its use in the Oriental liturgies, see MORIN, *Commentarius de sacr. eccl. ordinationibus*, p. 217. According to very ancient ritual rules, *Documenta liturgica*, p. 54 ff., the deacon had to handle it; see can. 14. About this document, see VÖÖBUS, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen* I, 1, A, p. 146 ff.

Ja'qōb. Because these are urgent, the priest is entitled to allow it.

(23.) Addaï. Is it right for a layman or a woman to take the communion (bread) by their hands from the paten when no priest is near?

Ja'qōb. It is right to take and put it into their mouths; * those who * p. 262
do this by no means do something sacerdotal.

(24.) Addaï. Is it right to give communion to a woman who has given birth two or three days before the Thursday of the mysteries or to one who has the way of women?

Ja'qōb. She who has given birth two or three days ago if she has become bloodless and washed off her blood and has cleansed herself — it is right not only to participate on Thursday of the week of the mysteries but on every day, whatever the day is for she is not unclean because she has given birth. She who has the way of women shall not participate until the stillstand of the flow of her blood — if there is no emergency — and until she is washed. Not because of uncleanness, but because of respect for the eucharistic elements.

(25.) Addaï. Is it right for someone to break the fast before he receives the communion (on Thursday) of the mysteries (and on the day) of the proclamation?

Ja'qōb. If he is in a place where the eucharist is available, it is not right. If he is in a place where there are no sacraments available, he shall break it. Concerning those elements (on Thursday of the) mysteries and those on the proclamation, (the sacrament) is so as it is on every other day, (namely) the body and blood of Christ our God.

(26.) Addaï. Is it right that (something) of the elements of the Thursday of the mysteries shall be preserved for the entire year?

Ja'qōb. This is of the same insanity. We have already said that the elements are the same. It is not right at all that they be preserved.

(27.) Addaï. Is it right to bring the eucharist to the sick in a leaf of beet or cabbage?

Ja'qōb. We have learned that it has been carried in a piece of clean linen or in paper so that they have burned the paper or a piece of cloth or the leaf of beet; it is not harmful when it is eaten or thrown into the fire.

(28.) Addaï. Is it right that the sacrifice shall be offered on the mountains or in the vineyards or gardens or (near) a flock, that is to say, because of protection?

* Ja'qōb. It is not forbidden to do this because of the fait hof those * p. 263
who request this. But (with regard to the latter part of the question),

I do not permit this to be done because the consecration of the holy mysteries is for the redemption of the living and not for possessions and the healing of animals, although when we consecrate (the sacrament) we pray the Lord the caretaker of all regarding the protection of the possession and the ripeness of the crop.

(29.) Addaï. Is it proper that when the sacrifice is being offered, in faith water and oil shall be placed (beneath the altar) and (later) given for the healing of the sick?

Ja'qōb. It is not forbidden to do this. However, when (this is done) not only for the healing of the sick but for protection of something other — placed in the beds or into the walls — not at all.

(30.) Addaï. Is it right that dust of the altar shall be given to the sick or right to bind a string around the foot of the holy table to be given to the sick people?

Ja'qōb. It is not forbidden that dust of the holy altar shall be given to the sick people that they may eat it together with food in faith. But it is not allowed that they shall fasten it on them or scatter it on houses and beds. Also, it is not allowed that they shall scatter it on cattle or on the cribs of them or that they hang it on them. For it often happens that a particle of the holy body falls down there (among the dust). The strings, however, that are found around the feet of the table — this is not right. It is a play. A presbyter who does in like manner shall be deposed.

(31.) Addaï. Is it right for a priest to bring an empty cup for a sick person or a belt[4] of the altar in order to sign him by it because of his pain? Or the gospel?

Ja'qōb. It should not at all (be the case) that the sick should touch something of the vessels of the altar, except that he shall be anointed by the oil of prayer in the name of the Lord. But the gospel, if they ask for it — this is not forbidden.

* p. 264 * (32.) Addaï. Is it right that the clerics throw the refuse of the sanctuary and the dust that it has gathered into a pit of water from which the animals drink?

Ja'qōb. It is right that the sweepings of dust of the sanctuary shall be hidden in the field, especially in a clean place and shall not be thrown into a pit of water; however, if it is (a place of) drinking for

[4] ζωνάριον.

believers only, and not for washing or drinking for animals and cattle, perhaps the matter would be not blameworthy.

(33.) Addaï. What is right for the priests to suffer who throw the (sacred) body, which has become moldy, into a pit of water?

Ja'qōb. These priests who have done thus — their deposition shall take place. The water of the pit, however, shall be guarded and shall be only for the drinking of believers. But it is right that the mud of this pit shall be hidden in a clean place.

(34.) Addaï. Is it right for a priest to place the offering into a traveling bag and (so to carry) it when mounted?

Ja'qōb. It is not right — he shall carry it on his shoulder when walking and when he is riding.

(35.) Addaï. Is it proper for a priest to give from the water of baptism, after they have baptized the candidates, to be put in houses for healing or for sprinkling?

Ja'qōb. It is not right at all, since the water is not released (of its efficacy). But the water blessed in the night of the Epiphany shall be given for healing.

(36.) Addaï. Is it proper that the holy myron be given in order to be placed into the ear of one being tempted (by demons)?

Ja'qōb. It is not right at all that the priest gives of the myron for healing. He who dares to do so shall receive the ecclesiastical punishment.

* (37.) Addaï. I wish to be instructed regarding the priest who places the sacrifice besides the bones of saints and martyrs in their urns which do not perform and demonstrate their power to a sinner who is brought to them and swears on them. * p. 265

Ja'qōb. A priest who does this shall receive ecclesiastical punishment.

(38.) Addaï. Regarding those who do not wish to offer their sacrifices in a temple in which there are the bones of the saints which work miracles — as they say: if the sacrifice is offered in it, they do not heal the sick people.

Ja'qōb. They are deceivers and despisers; thus would they demonstrate that the saints are against God and the wretched ones do not know that God is He who does miracles through the bones of the saints. But those who do this, God has delivered them over to the error of their hearts and brings to naught the effectiveness of the saints, those who trust condemning and contemptible (things).

(39.) Addaï. Is it right that a loaf of the bread brought to the temple of God should be given before (something) from it has been offered to God?

Ja'qōb. It is not right that a man should be honored before God; therefore it is not right to give something of it to someone before a sacrifice from it has ascended to God. For also the sons of Eli, besides other (evil things) which they dared, also improperly ventured this, (namely) that, before the fat of the sacrifice came on the altar of God according to the law, they demanded flesh from the priestly sacrifice so that it would be roasted for their own food[5] — greedily — as they honored themselves even in the presence of God, the Lord of the sacrifices.

(40.) Addaï. Is it lawful for a deaconess to throw a piece of sacred body into the consecrated cup in the same way as a deacon (does)?

* p. 266 * Ja'qōb. It is not lawful for her because she has not become a deaconess of the altar but of sick women.

(41.) Addaï. What is the authority of a deaconess to do in the church?

Ja'qōb. She has no authority whatsoever over the altar. Although appointed, she is not appointed in the name of the altar but only of the church. The authority she has is only this that she sweeps the altar and lights the lamps there (in the sanctuary). In the monasteries of the sisters she may take the mysteries from the shrine and give them to her sisters or small children — all these if there is no presbyter or deacon near. It is not allowed her to touch the holy table and to take the mysteries from it and to place on it. When adult women are being baptized, she shall anoint them. She shall visit the sick women. Only this is the authority of the deaconess in the administration with regard to the priests.

(42.) Addaï. What is right to do with a tablet on which the heathen have eaten flesh and which they have soiled?

Ja'qōb. It shall be washed and become (available) for (ordinary) use in the sanctuary or in the diaconicon; if it is small, it shall be broken and hidden in the ground.

43. Addaï. (Regarding) the altars of marble or wood which have been broken up by the enemies. What shall be done with them?

Ja'qōb. They shall be broken carefully and hidden deep (in the earth).

(44.) Addaï. If the inhabitants have fled their place and have brought

[5] I Sam. II, 12 ff.

with them a precious table of marble or of whatsoever (material) and in order to spare it have hidden it (in the earth) and after a period of time (it has been exposed) or it has been washed by the rain or the priests have washed it. What about it or about those who have washed (it)? Is it right that (such) altars shall be washed?

Ja'qōb. The table which they have hidden out of necessity and later was washed whether through rain or through priests, * its anointing * p. 267 is not at all void — there is no blame for the priests who have washed it; and it is not right that it is anointed anew but it shall be offered on it. Given the basis that that which was hidden was washed out of necessity, it is not right that the altars should be washed.

(45.) Addaï. (Regarding) the vases or vials of glass in which the myron is put and which are broken or rancid or malodorous. What must be done with them?

Ja'qōb. They shall be hidden in the earth and nothing is to be sold of their glass; if they are of silver or of gold they shall be given to the Christian artisans to work (them over) for the sacred myron. If they are not broken and rancid, they shall be washed in the water of the holy baptism in the font and shall be for (the same use); but that shall not be for human use. Also not the censers of Dathan and Abiram[6] who were rebels — Moses did not make (them) for human use but as he commanded and they became a part of the altar and were in the house of the Lord[7].

(46). Addaï. If a child is in the affliction of death and there is no church, what shall the priest do for him?

Ja'qōb. He shall take a jar of water and shall baptize on the head of the child while his mother is holding him and say: I baptize N.N. in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit.

(47.) Addaï. If the holy blood is spilled, what shall be done to the place?

Ja'qōb. This place shall be scraped off by knife and the dust shall be thrown into a fire or something else. If it is not possible, what I said previously shall take place; coals shall be put there or the like and burned. It is known that the power of the eucharist cannot be brought into contempt and cannot be trodden by feet (and that) it does not attach itself to the ground but to the souls of the believers.

(48.) Addaï. Does the water of baptism become ineffective

[6] Num. xvi, 12 ff. — [7] Num. xvi, 39-40.

* p. 268 * Ja'qōb. The consecrated water of baptism does not become ineffective at all not as the priest washes his hands because of the fatness of oil and not if it is necessary to add to it; and not if it stays overnight and remains until the next day and people are baptized in it, when a candidate is present to be baptized. And even not if one breaks the font — what is poured out is not ordinary water. It is known that in the towns one takes from it as a leaven and preserves it for the peril of death.

(49.) Addaï. Is it right for the believer to take the answer from what is called the "Lot of the Apostle" or from other writings?

Ja'qōb. It is not right that one does this. If he does not abstain and he is a cleric he shall fall out of his rank; if he is a monk or a believer, he shall be suspended from the fellowship of the mysteries.

(50.) Addaï. (Regarding) those who murmur adjurations and say that they pray, who tie knots or who make amulets and write (magic) writings against pains whatever they may have.

Ja'qōb. These are not Christians and therefore this is not the place ⟨to discuss this question⟩.

(51.) ⟨Addaï. Presbyters or deacons who have been compelled into defense action so that without⟩ their will they have lifted up the ropes of the ballista of war and thrown stones and have killed warriors outside. Is it right that they shall serve the priesthood? And if it is right only for a short time to be under the canon (of punishment)?

Ja'qōb. With regard to (this) that without their will they have been driven by force, they go out declared free from these (deeds) which have been done; after this, it is in the authority of their bishop, (namely) that he shall deal with them compassionately and allow their service if it seems proper to him. But a presbyter who has killed and seen with his own eyes the one killed for a certain time, he is suspended
* p. 269 from the ministry for penitence. It is right that it is left * to the conscience of the presbyter whether he shall serve or not, whether there is a sin or not. It is not right that he shall fall under the question — this shall be given over to the righteous judge who is not partial — (for) God is the discerner and trier of all.

8 ܦܣܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ, *pesā da-šlīḥē* can be translated as a "lot of the apostles" or also a "page of the apostles". Obviously the reference is to writings for presage and forecast.

[LIII]

FURTHER CANONS SET UP BY JA'QŌB OF THE BLESSED 'ŪRHĀI

Canon 1. There are men who are fascinated [1] only by the beauty of dress and of excellent embroidery so that, without any critique [2], they make apparel for the sacred tables and paint on them complete stories of godheads and godheads of pagans and of shameful mingling and all the rest of it. When the believers see them, they sometimes — being ignorant — prepare apparel for the holy altar. I personally have seen this disgrace on the holy table and persuaded those who possessed it to tear it asunder and hide it in the church. Therefore, I have determined that it is not lawful for anything like this to be placed on the holy altar. It is better that the holy altar be served without apparel at all, without any of these things.

Canon 2. It is not allowed the priests to direct ecclesiastical affairs, for this (belongs) to the bishop or to those whom he appoints.

Canon 3. The *sā'ūrē* [3] are not allowed to give prayers over the priests who have just begun to serve, for the (spiritual) gift is not lacking so that it must be completed by them.

* Canon 4. It is not lawful for the presbyters to make many prayers over the incense — and to babble on — except only one for the edification of the people. * p. 270

Canon 5. It is not lawful for a priest to abandon the altar at which he has been consecrated, except on account of grief [4] and unbearable necessities [5].

Canon 6. It is not lawful for the presbyters to demand a wage for their service from the congregation [6], in like manner as the guards who are in the village; for it is not right for priests to serve God for a wage.

Canon 7. It is not lawful for stylites to offer sacrifice upon their columns, also not to make (cultic) gatherings at them.

Canon 8. It is not lawful for the recluses to offer sacrifice except

[1] Lit. are looking — [2] Lit. examination — [3] Overseer, visitor — [4] Or: harm, detriment — [5] Lit. demands — [6] Lit. people.

on account of urgent cases or if they are in a neighborhood where the people do not bring them the eucharist.

Canon 9. It is not lawful for clerics to make banquets in churches or to receive some gifts from one another when newly promoted to some rank — in like manner as craftsmen who begin to work in the profession that they have learned.

Canon 10. It is not lawful for clergymen after they have eaten to take with them portions presented to them from the commemorations, vigils and agapes [7].

Canon 11. It is not lawful for the priests to eat flesh in secrecy, but those who wish shall eat openly.

Canon 12. It is not lawful that the priests shall fast by coercion, but voluntarily; for there is no remuneration under coercion.

Canon 13. It is not lawful for priests who have been called * tothe agapes to demand something from them who called them, but they shall eat what has been prepared.

* p. 271

Canon 14. It is not lawful for those who eat the flesh of animals, camels, wolf, and wild ass, except the blood is separated, (otherwise the animals) shall be counted as strangled and as defiled sacrifices.

Canon 15. It is not lawful for Christians to eat the blood of the animals [8]; he who dares to do so shall be guilty.

Canon 16. It is not lawful for Christians to eat the testicles of the castrated animals; for those who eat what is strangled [9], it is lawful that they be punished.

Canon 17. It is not lawful at all for a midwife who has given assistance at child birth to be hindered from the church.

Canon 18. No one shall keep the Jewish observance.

One shall not hinder a midwife from the church for a single day, also not her who has given birth immediately after she stands up from her bed and washes herself.

Canon 19. The people must take care of the priest, who stands in their leadership [10], in material [11] things so as he takes care of them in spiritual things.

Canon 20. It is not lawful for the deacons that they shall pray in front of the people like the priest.

[7] ܐܓܦܐ, agapes and love-feasts — [8] Cf. Acts xv, 20 — [9] Cf. Acts xv, 20 — [10] Lit. at the head — [11] Lit. bodily.

However, when they put incense (in place) or say another prayer, this they shall pray secretly and quietly [12], bowed down.

If they say at the end of their prayer, "Forever and ever", they are not blameworthy nor are the seculars when they say in like manner.

Canon 21. It is not lawful for deacons, in one of the liturgical [13] services or whatever it may be, to say something face to face with God, but (they shall say) all looking face to face with the people; so then according to the custom at the end of the litanies [14], that is to say *bā'ūtā* [15], spoken together with the people.

Canon 22. It is not lawful that outstanding members * in the towns * p. 272 shall read the (sacred) books in the assemblies, except the *qārūyē* [16] who are experienced [17] and who read beautifully, and also shall not sing something of the psalmody (of the singers) whose voice is good.

In like manner also at the festivals — in order that those who render confused their reading shall not offend the people because of the lack (of a good quality) of their voice.

Canon 23. It is not lawful at all that they shall say the *qerāyātā* [18] and *'anāyātā* [19] of the liturgical [20] services with one another, but everyone of them his own (part) according to what has been ordered by the holy fathers.

(Canon 24). It is not lawful for the clerics when they have a lawsuit to go to outsiders but to the judgments of the holy church.

Here end the canons of Ja'qōb of 'Ūrhāi [21].

[12] Or : in a low voice — [13] Or : eucharistic; lit. mystical — [14] λιτανεία — [15] Intercession, rogation — [16] Readers — [17] Lit. who labor — [18] Invocations or readings — [19] Liturgical responses — [20] Or : eucharistic; lit. mystical — [21] Here the scribe added : Pray for the sinner who has written down (the text).

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